

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments



Toby A.H. Wilkinson

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The kings of ancient Egypt's first five dynasties were responsible for the creation of a unique and enduring civilisation, epitomised by its most impressive monuments, the pyramids. Yet what do we know about the reigns of these kings? Excavations have revealed much; but Egyptology has always been blessed with another rich source of information, the written texts and inscriptions composed by the ancient Egyptians themselves.

For the history of the first five dynasties, one particular series of inscriptions has always been of prime importance. This is the collection of inscribed stone fragments known as the royal annals. Now divided between museums in Palermo, Cairo and London, these documents from ancient Egypt have been the focus of countless studies in the century or so since they first came to light. For they seem to record the reigns of Egypt's early kings on a reign-by-reign, year-by-year basis.

The information they contain has been translated, interpreted and re-interpreted by generations of Egyptologists, in the hope of achieving a better understanding of the first great period of ancient Egyptian history. And yet amazingly for such crucial documents – no complete edition of all seven surviving fragments has ever been published. *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt* fills this gap. The text is accompanied by specially commissioned, detailed line-drawings of all the fragments.

Toby A.H. Wilkinson was at the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham and is presently at Christ's College, Cambridge. He is the author of two important works in Egyptology.



STUDIES IN EGYPTOLOGY

EDITED BY GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN

*EDWARDS PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY EMERITUS,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON*

THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLE
PATRICIA SPENCER

THE ADMINISTRATION OF
EGYPT IN THE OLD KINGDOM
NIGEL STRUDWICK

CORPUS OF RELIEFS OF THE NEW KINGDOM
FROM THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS AND
LOWER EGYPT, VOLUME 1
GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN

PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES IN
EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
*EDITED BY JAN ASSMANN,
GÜNTER BURKARD AND VIVIAN DAVIES*

LOST TOMBS
LISE MANNICHE

DECORATION IN EGYPTIAN TOMBS
OF THE OLD KINGDOM
YVONNE HARPUR

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU DEN
TOTENBUCHPAPYRI DER 18. DYNASTIE
IRMTRAUT MUNRO

THE MONUMENTS OF SENENMUT
PETER F. DORMAN

THE FORT-CEMETERY AT HIERAKONPOLIS
BARBARA ADAMS

THE DUTIES OF THE VIZIER
G. P. F. VAN DEN BOORN

A GLOSSARY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN
NAUTICAL TITLES AND TERMS
DILWYN JONES

LAND TENURE IN THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD
SALLY L. D. KATARY

VALLEY OF THE KINGS
C. N. REEVES

THE COBRA GODDESS OF ANCIENT EGYPT
SALLY B. JOHNSON

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE
AMARNA PERIOD AND ITS AFTERMATH
GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN

THE PRIVATE CHAPEL IN ANCIENT EGYPT
ANN H. BOMANN

AKHENATEN'S SED-FESTIVAL AT KARNAK
JOCELYN COHARY

AFTER TUT'ANKHAMUN
EDITED BY C. N. REEVES

THE BOUNDARY STELAE OF AKHENATEN
*WILLIAM J. MURNANE AND
CHARLES C. VAN SICLEN III*

THE CANOPIC EQUIPMENT
OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT
AIDAN DODSON

LIVING IN THE PAST: STUDIES IN ARCHAISM
OF THE EGYPTIAN
TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY
PETER DER MANUELLIAN

EGYPTIAN SOLAR RELIGION
IN THE NEW KINGDOM
JAN ASSMANN

WINE AND WINE OFFERING
IN THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT
MU-CHOU POO

ASKUT IN NUBIA
STUART TYSON SMITH

THE NEW KINGDOM ROYAL CITY
PETER LACOVARA

CHIEF OF SEERS
*ELIZABETH GORING, NICHOLAS REEVES
AND JOHN RUFFLE*

GODS, PRIESTS AND MEN
AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN

THE COSMOS OF KHNUMHOTEP II
JANICE KAMRIN

PHARAOH'S GATEWAY TO ETERNITY
ERIC P. UPHILL

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The Palermo Stone and its associated fragments

Toby A.H. Wilkinson



KEGAN PAUL INTERNATIONAL
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2000 by
Kegan Paul International Limited
UK: P.O. Box 256, London WC1B 3SW, England
Tel: 020 7580 5511 Fax: 020 7436 0899
E-mail: books@keganpau.demon.co.uk
Internet: <http://www.demon.co.uk/keganpaul/>
USA: 61 West 62nd Street, New York, NY 10023
Tel: (212) 459 0600 Fax: (212) 459 3678
Internet: www.columbia.edu/cu/cup

Distributed by
John Wiley & Sons
Southern Cross Trading Estate
1 Oldlands Way, Bognor Regis
West Sussex, PO22 9SA, England
Tel: (01243) 779 777 Fax: (01243) 843 302
E-mail: cusservices@wiley.co.uk

Columbia University Press
61 West 62nd Street
New York, NY 10023, USA
Tel: (212) 459 0600
Fax: (212) 459 3678
Internet: www.columbia.edu/cu/cup

© Toby A.H. Wilkinson 2000

Printed in Great Britain by IBT Global, London

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

ISBN 0-7103-0667-9

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Information on this book may be obtained from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Information on this book may be obtained from the Library of Congress

For Mike, with love and thanks

CONTENTS

<i>Prologue</i>	9
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	11
PART I THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT	15
The fragments	17
Publication and study	28
Interpreting the annals	60
PART II TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY	83
The Palermo Stone	85
The main Cairo fragment	181
The smaller fragments	222
<i>Appendices</i>	253
<i>Bibliography</i>	261
<i>Indices</i>	273
<i>Figures</i>	289

FIGURES

- 1 The Palermo Stone (*recto*)
- 2 The Palermo Stone (*verso*)
- 3 Naville's drawing of the Palermo Stone (*verso*)
- 4 Edwards' hand-copy of Cairo fragment 1 (*recto*)
- 5 Cairo fragment 1 (*recto*)
- 6 Cairo fragment 1 (*verso*)
- 7 Cairo fragment 2 (*recto*)
- 8 Cairo fragment 3 (*recto*)
- 9 Cairo fragment 4 (*recto*)
- 10 Cairo fragment 5 (*recto*)
- 11 The London fragment (*recto*)
- 12 The London fragment (*verso*)

PROLOGUE

Ancient Egypt's early kings are fascinating and intriguing figures. They were responsible for the creation of a unique and enduring civilisation, epitomised by its most impressive monuments, the pyramids. Their names leap from the pages of history books, at once resonant and mysterious: Djer, Khasekhemwy, Sneferu, Sahura. Yet what do we know about the reigns that comprised Egypt's first five royal dynasties? Archaeological excavations, particularly in recent years, have revealed much; but Egyptology has always been blessed with another rich source of information, the written texts and inscriptions composed by the ancient Egyptians themselves.

For the history of the first five dynasties, one particular series of inscriptions has always been of prime importance. This is the collection of inscribed, stone fragments known as the royal annals. Now divided between museums in Palermo, Cairo and London, these documents from ancient Egypt have been the focus of countless studies in the century or so since they first came to light. For they seem to record the reigns of Egypt's early kings on a reign-by-reign, year-by-year basis. The information they contain has been translated, interpreted and re-interpreted by generations of Egyptologists, in the hope of achieving a better understanding of the first great period of ancient Egyptian history. And yet — amazingly, for such crucial documents — no complete edition of all seven surviving fragments has ever been published. The current work seeks to fill the gap.

This new edition of ancient Egypt's royal annals is arranged in two parts. Part I provides an introduction to the study of the artefacts. In the first section, the various fragments are described, the history of their acquisition is recounted, and questions concerning their provenance, date and unity are discussed. The second section charts the history of scholarship surrounding the annals, and the different attempts to reconstruct the original document in its entirety. The third section

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

investigates the problems and possibilities inherent in interpreting ancient texts in general and the royal annals in particular.

Part II presents the detailed transliteration, translation and commentary of all seven portions of the annals. As the first-discovered and best-preserved fragment, the Palermo Stone is treated first, followed by the main Cairo fragment and the five smaller fragments. The annals do not constitute a continuous text, and it is not practicable for an edition to treat them as such. Since discussions of the annals and their contents most often refer to individual year-compartments, the current transliteration, translation and commentary are arranged, for convenience, on a year-by-year basis. To avoid unnecessary repetition, recurring words, phrases and themes are discussed only once, at their first (or, occasionally, most important) occurrence. Such discussions can be easily located by means of the thematic index and the index of ancient Egyptian terms that conclude the current work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book was researched and written during my tenure as a Leverhulme Trust Special Research Fellow in the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham. My thanks are due to the Leverhulme Trust and the University of Durham for their financial support, and to my colleagues in the Department of Archaeology for providing a stimulating academic environment in which to work.

I.E.S. Edwards' hand-copy of the main Cairo fragment together with the contents of his letter on the subject to Stephen Glanville are published with the permission of the Faculty Board of Oriental Studies, Cambridge. I am most grateful to the Board and to Catherine Ansorge, Librarian of the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

I should like to thank the people who granted me direct access to the annals fragments: Dr Mohammed Saleh, former Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; and Sally Macdonald, Manager of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London. The Palermo Stone was studied in its glass case in the Archaeological Museum, Palermo; I should like to thank the Managers of the Lady Wallis Budge Fund, Christ's College, Cambridge, for contributing towards the costs of my visit to Sicily.

For stimulating and illuminating discussions on pyramid-building and Old Kingdom chronology, my thanks are due to Dr Kate Spence. Dr Salima Ikram provided valuable information about the most recently-acquired annals fragment in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Ian Grant gave helpful advice on the reading of a particularly difficult Egyptian term. For their help and indulgence, my special thanks go to the librarians at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge.

The line-drawings of the Palermo Stone and Cairo fragments were expertly produced by Yvonne Beadnell of the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham. The London fragment was drawn by Dr Kate Spence, by kind

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

arrangement with Sally Macdonald of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London.

The font used here ('Sippar') was created by Dr Wilfred van Soldt of the University of Leiden.

My thanks are due to Professor Geoffrey Martin for accepting the manuscript for publication in the *Studies in Egyptology* series, and for his most helpful comments on an earlier version of the text.

Finally, for their care and support, I should like to thank all my family and friends, and especially Michael Bailey, without whom this book could not have been written.

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

Throughout the current work, the following abbreviations are used for the seven surviving fragments of the annals:

PS the Palermo Stone

CF1–5 the Cairo fragments (CF1 being the main Cairo fragment)

LF the London fragment

The Palermo Stone, main Cairo fragment and London fragment bear inscriptions on both faces. The face preserving the earlier annals (of the First to Fourth Dynasties) is traditionally termed the *recto*, while the other face (preserving the annals of the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties) is termed the *verso*. These are abbreviated as r and v respectively. On each face, the registers are numbered from top to bottom with Roman numerals, so that, for instance, r.II refers to the second register of the recto, v.III to the third register of the verso. For the smaller fragments (CF2–5 and LF), which preserve only two or three registers — which are difficult to correlate with those of the two main fragments — the upper, middle (if present) and lower registers are designated by the letters U, M and L, respectively. Individual compartments within a register are numbered consecutively from right to left. To designate a specific compartment, a three-part reference gives the face, register and compartment number. For example, CF5 r.U.1 refers to the first compartment (from the right) on the upper register of the recto of the fifth Cairo fragment; PS v.II.3 refers to the third compartment (from the right) on the second register of the verso of the Palermo Stone. Used in combination with the abbreviations for the fragments themselves, this system allows each individual compartment to be readily identified by means of a unique abbreviation. Hence, CF1 r.III.3 refers to the third compartment of the third register on the recto of the main Cairo fragment (the compartment which records the first year of Semerkhet's reign).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| JdE (followed by a number) | accession number of an artefact in the Journal
d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo |
| UC (followed by a number) | accession number of an artefact in the Petrie
Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University
College London |

PART I

**THE ROYAL ANNALS
IN CONTEXT**

THE FRAGMENTS

Introduction

The seven surviving fragments of the early Egyptian royal annals — the Palermo Stone, the five Cairo fragments, and the London fragment — have stood at the core of attempts to reconstruct the chronology and history of Egypt during the first five dynasties. In recent years, important new archaeological evidence, in particular from the early royal cemetery at Abydos, has clarified the order of succession of the Early Dynastic kings, lessening reliance on the annals. However, for most of the twentieth century, they have dominated discussion of early Egyptian history and civilisation. As befits such important artefacts, the annals fragments have been the focus of numerous scholarly studies, ranging from the pioneering to the polemical. They have had an immeasurable influence on perceptions of early Egypt, and continue to occupy a central position in Egyptological discussion. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the annals have never been published together, as a unified body of material (cf. Godron 1952: 21). The definitive edition of PS is nearly one hundred years old (Schäfer 1902). Many of the translations and interpretations of PS (e.g. Breasted 1906a) have, long ago, been rendered redundant by new information or new insights into the culture of early Egypt. The other fragments of the annals (CF1–5 and LF) have been published only summarily, without full commentaries (Gauthier 1914, 1915; Cenival 1965; Petrie 1916; Reeves 1979). Egyptology in general and the study of early Egypt in particular have progressed far and fast in recent years (Spencer 1993; Wilkinson 1999). In the light of much new evidence, it is surely time for a new, comprehensive edition of the royal annals, bringing the cumulative weight of international scholarship to bear on some of the most influential artefacts from ancient Egypt.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Description

The fragments comprise a series of seven, irregular pieces of stone, each inscribed lightly with a sharp instrument. The fragments vary widely in size. The shield-shaped Palermo Stone measures 43.5 cm in height and 25 cm in breadth (maximum dimensions). The thickness of the stone varies between 5.1 cm and 6.5 cm. The roughly rectangular CF1 is of a comparable size, with maximum dimensions of 42 cm (height) by 26 cm (breadth) on the recto, and 36 cm (height) by 26 cm (breadth) on the verso due to a substantial area of damage at the top. The thickness varies between 6.0 cm and 6.5 cm. Although CF1 is, on average, somewhat thicker than PS, ‘in the matter of thickness there is no evidence indicating that the Cairo fragment and the Palermo fragment were not part of the same stone slab’ (Breasted 1931: 714). The second Cairo fragment (CF2) has a triangular shape, and is the smallest surviving portion of the annals with a maximum height of 8.4 cm and a maximum breadth of 9.2 cm. CF3 and CF4 are irregular in shape. CF3 has a maximum height of 11 cm and a maximum breadth of 9 cm. The maximum dimensions of CF4 are 11.5 cm high and 7.5 cm broad. The squarish CF5 measures 9 cm by 9 cm, and is some 3 cm thick. Finally, the triangular London fragment has a maximum height of 8.5 cm and a maximum breadth of 8 cm on the recto; it is 5.3 cm in thickness.

To aid transcription, photography and study, the inscriptions have been highlighted by the application of chalk (cf. Stewart 1979: 6). Originally, all the fragments were most likely inscribed on both sides. However, four (CF2–5) are now so badly worn that only one face (the recto in each case) is still legible. The Palermo Stone is by far the best preserved of the fragments. The inscriptions on the recto are well executed and easily legible; those on the verso are more worn, but still present no real difficulties. The main Cairo fragment is a very different matter. It seems that CF1 had been used — in antiquity or in more recent times — as a door-sill. The upper part of the verso may have been protected by the door itself, whereas the lower part seems to have been exposed to greater wear (Daressy 1916: 177–8). Given that most of the signs were only lightly engraved in

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

the first place, it is not surprising that much of the original inscription is now worn away and illegible. The whole fragment is badly abraded, rendering the bottom two-thirds of the recto and the bottom half of the verso illegible (Gauthier 1915: 31). Yet, CF1 is still legible on both faces (Gauthier 1915: 30). CF2–4 are badly worn, and reading their inscriptions presents great difficulties. The fifth Cairo fragment and the London fragment are better preserved and are the most easily legible of the small fragments.

The inscriptions are arranged in a series of rectangular compartments, set out in horizontal rows or registers. The width of the compartments shows little variation within a register but varies greatly between registers. The annals of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties are characterised by much wider compartments, and hence more extensive entries, than the annals of the First–Third Dynasties. The compartments of PS r.I and CF1 r.I show very simple entries: each contains the name of a king with a seated royal figure below. In the other registers, the right-hand side of each compartment is formed by a curving palm-rib, the hieroglyphic sign for ‘year’ (*rnpt*). Hence, each compartment represents a single year in the reign of a king. Within each compartment, hieroglyphs record the principal events of that particular year. (A similar method of naming years was followed by the Old Babylonian kings of Mesopotamia (Schäfer 1902: 13; Gardiner 1945: 12).) It is interesting that the annals attest a practice of date-reckoning quite independent from the king’s reign: the year compartments record civil or calendar years rather than regnal years (Read 1914–15: 40–1; Borchardt 1917: 5; Gardiner 1945: 13, 16). In other words, each year designated by a separate compartment begins on New Year’s Day, the first day of the first month of the inundation; whereas regnal years, regularly used in date formulae from the First Intermediate Period onwards, ran from a king’s accession date to each subsequent anniversary of his accession. Hence, with one exception in PS r.II, the annals begin a new year compartment ‘regardless of the beginning or end of a reign’ (Gardiner 1945: 13). It seems likely that a civil calendar, based upon the solar year, was instituted at a very early period in Egypt.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

A separate section at the bottom of each compartment records a measurement generally assumed to be the height of the annual Nile inundation. Most of the registers of compartments are surmounted by a narrower band which contains the titles of the king whose annals appear below. Reign divisions are marked by vertical lines spanning the register and its accompanying titulary band (where present). The arrangement of the annals is broadly historical. The compartments on the recto record the reigns of the First, Second and Third Dynasties, and those of the early Fourth Dynasty. The compartments on the verso record the years of the late-Fourth Dynasty kings and their successors of the early Fifth Dynasty.

There has never been an expert petrological examination of the two principal annals fragments (PS and CF1). Only CF5 has been examined, and the stone was identified as ‘olivine basalt’ (Cenival 1965: 14; Helck 1982: n. 1). Schäfer (1902) calls the material of the Palermo Stone ‘amphibolite’ (hornblend-slate), probably following the statement of Pellegrini (1895: 297). From first-hand examination, Breasted (1931: 718) concluded that PS and CF1 were carved from ‘the same compact black stone, with identical characteristic concentric striations on the fractured surfaces’. Clagett (1989: 47) calls the stone in which the annals are carved ‘black diorite’. The material of LF was described by Petrie as ‘a hard jet-black quartzose rock, like that [of the annals stone] at Palermo’ (Petrie 1916: 120; Stewart 1979: 6).

Acquisition and provenance

None of the annals fragments has a secure provenance. The Palermo Stone was first acquired in or about 1859 by the Italian Ferdinando Gaudio or his father. The circumstances surrounding its initial discovery remain unclear (Godron 1952: 17–18). The stone was donated to the Archaeological Museum in Palermo on 19 October 1877, where it was given the registration number 1028 (Godron 1952: 18). In 1895, a scheme was proposed whereby the Palermo Museum would give PS to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in exchange for a collection of Egyptian artefacts. Had this succeeded, six out of seven annals fragments — including the

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

two largest pieces — would have been reunited. However, increasing scholarly interest in PS highlighted its importance to the Palermo Museum, and the exchange proposal was dropped (Godron 1952: 18). One of the first scholars to comment on the possible provenance of PS was Naville (1899: 112–13). Noting the frequent references to Heliopolis in the Fifth Dynasty annals, he was certain that the monument came from Lower Egypt, and suggested that it was originally intended for the temple of Ra at Heliopolis. Although a Lower Egyptian provenance is likely for other reasons (see below), the emphasis placed on Heliopolis probably reflects the theological preoccupations of the Fifth Dynasty kings; it seems unlikely that the annals were originally set up in a temple at Heliopolis, although such a possibility cannot be excluded altogether.

In 1910, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo purchased three new fragments (CF1–3) on the local antiquities market. They were registered in the museum’s *Journal d’Entrée* with the numbers 44859 (CF1), 39735 (CF2) and 39734 (CF3). Their original provenance has never been established satisfactorily. The report that CF1–3 came from the vicinity of el-Minia is ‘scarcely credible’, according to a leading scholar (Helck 1982). If they were found at this location, it would, almost certainly, have been in a secondary context; they may have been transported there from Lower Egypt (Godron 1952: 21). Shortly after the Egyptian Museum bought CF1–3, a fourth fragment (CF4) was uncovered, apparently *in situ*, amongst the ruins of Memphis. It was rescued from a collection of objects found during *sebak* digging (Daressy 1916: 173). It entered the collections of the Egyptian Museum with the *Journal d’Entrée* registration number 44860. The secure, Memphite provenance of this, the only fragment not purchased from a dealer, has led several scholars to conclude that the original annals stone was set up in a temple in Memphis or nearby (Gauthier 1915: 29, quoting Maspero and Daressy; Godron 1952: 20–1). More specifically, Helck (1970: 85) made the convincing suggestion that the annals stone was set up in a court of the Ptah temple at Memphis, like the monumental Twenty-fifth dynasty inscription known as the ‘Memphite Theology’ (Shabako Stone).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

When Petrie bought LF from a Cairo antiquities dealer ‘a few years’ before 1916 (Petrie 1916: 115), he sought to establish its provenance and that of the other fragments. However, the information he obtained was of little value:

“Of that [fragment] at Palermo nothing is known about the source. Three [fragments], now at Cairo, were bought from a dealer, and are said to have come from Minieh [sic]. The fourth [fragment], at Cairo, is said to have been collected from a sebakh digger by one of the Museum guards at Memphis” (Petrie 1916: 115).

The London fragment was said to have been found in Upper Egypt, then taken to Cairo for sale; but this information cannot be verified. Petrie presented LF to University College London, where it forms part of the collections named in his honour at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. It has the registration number UC 15508.

The seventh fragment of the annals (CF5) was bought by Cenival in 1963, once again from a Cairo antiquities dealer. The original provenance of CF5 is not recorded. Cenival presented CF5 to the Egyptian Museum, so that it could be displayed together with four of the other six known fragments (Cenival 1965: 13). CF5 bears the number 18220 in the museum’s *Journal d’Entrée* (this may be a special registration number, since it seems rather an ‘early’ *Journal d’Entrée* number for an artefact acquired comparatively recently). As displayed in the Egyptian Museum, CF5 has been assigned the temporary registration number

15/1

75/2.

Without a secure provenance for six of the seven fragments, the discovery of CF4 at Memphis remains a crucial piece of evidence. As we have seen, internal evidence — the nature of the Fifth Dynasty entries themselves — would tend to support a Memphite origin for the annals (cf. Vercoutter 1992: 76). The overall similarity of the annals to the Shabako Stone (inscribed with the so-called ‘Memphite Theology’ text) adds further weight to this theory.

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Date

The date at which the annals were compiled and inscribed remains a matter of debate, and is unlikely to be resolved to the general satisfaction of scholars in the absence of new evidence (Helck 1970: 83). The annals themselves end in the early Fifth Dynasty, and this may represent the date at which they were originally compiled (Helck 1956: 2; Stewart 1979: 6; Clagett 1989: 47). Borchardt (1917: 23) certainly believed that the orthography of the six fragments then known pointed to an Old Kingdom date. On the basis of observed differences in the epigraphy between the recto and verso of PS, Tcherezov (1960) suggested that PS recto was carved in the Fourth Dynasty, the verso somewhat later in the Fifth Dynasty reign of Neferirkara. By implication, Gardiner (1961: 63) dated the compilation of the annals to the reign of Niuserra, in the late Fifth Dynasty. Wiedemann (1885) dated the monument to the early Sixth Dynasty, based on first-hand inspection of PS, and this interpretation has been followed recently by Vercoutter (1992: 76). O'Mara (1996: 207–8) detected no fewer than six different scribal hands on PS; he argued that the recto was carved at a single date, probably in the reign of Shepseskaf at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, while the verso was 'a living stone, begun by Userkaf, continued by Sahura, and finished as a single block under Menkauhor' (O'Mara 1996: 208 n. 22).

However, it has also been suggested that PS and CF1–4 may represent later copies of an Old Kingdom original (cf. Krauss 1996: 45 n. 16). Pellegrini — the first scholar to publish the Palermo Stone — thought the epigraphy indicative of the Ptolemaic period, though this was subsequently rejected (Fischer and Caminos 1976: 48). Such a late date would be commensurate with the known interest of the Ptolemaic Egyptians in their ancient history, and in copying monuments which recorded past donations to temples and pious foundations (Maspero 1912: 419–20). A convincing argument for a Twenty-fifth Dynasty date was made by Helck (1970). He argued that the type of stone used for the annals fragments was used only for the flooring of mortuary temples in the Old Kingdom (cf. Lucas and Harris 1962: 61), whereas it was definitely used for monumental

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

inscriptions in the Third Intermediate Period (Helck 1970: 83). Citing the Shabako Stone ('Memphite Theology') as a parallel, Helck suggested that the annals stone(s) could represent a Twenty-fifth Dynasty copy of an Old Kingdom papyrus document. If this is the case, 'the long interval between the Old Kingdom ... and the Late Period would have a negative effect on the reliability of the text' (Krauss 1996: 44). Misunderstandings or copying errors on the part of the Third Intermediate Period scribes could account for some of the particularly obscure entries in the annals (Helck 1970: 84).

A decisive piece of evidence in favour of an Old Kingdom date — at least for the original annals, of which the existing fragments may represent one or more later copies — is the rendition of the Early Dynastic royal names. The names of the kings Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy appear in their correct, Early Dynastic form (as confirmed by archaeology), in contrast to the corrupt, garbled variants found in later king lists. This suggests that the original compilers of the annals had access to good, contemporary, Early Dynastic source material (unlike the compilers of the Abydos king list and Turin Canon). This, in turn, suggests that the annals were compiled rather sooner after the events they record than the other extant king lists.

Do the surviving fragments come from a single annals stone?

There has been considerable debate about whether one or more stones is represented among the surviving fragments (Godron 1952: 19–20 for a summary of the debate up to that date). The fact that CF1–3 are said to have come from Middle Egypt, whereas CF4 was found at Memphis, led two early scholars (Gauthier 1914: 495; Daressy 1916: 161) to conclude that at least two original stones were represented by the fragments. Daressy (1916: 173) also noted the different thickness of CF4 and the smaller signs on its surface. Writing at the same time, Petrie noted that the CF1 and PS seem to have been carved 'by different hands' (Petrie 1916: 115). The execution of CF1 is less careful, and less regular, than that seen on PS. However, these differences need not point to the

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

two pieces having come from different monuments, since in the carving of a large annals stone 'it is very likely that more than one engraver would be employed' (Petrie 1916: 115).

The difference in thickness between some of the fragments has also raised the possibility that more than one annals stone may be represented. Gauthier (1914: 495; 1915: 30) first raised doubts about CF4 because it is significantly thicker than the other fragments; he wondered if CF4 came from a second annals stone. Petrie acknowledged the possibility, but pointed out that variations in width might be expected in a large monument. He argued that more precise measurements of the two large fragments were needed before a reasoned conclusion was possible. However, writing in the same year as Petrie, Read (1916: 216) thought it 'inconceivable that one and the same monument should vary so greatly'. He argued that PS and CF1 belonged to the same original, but that CF4 represented a second stone, while CF2 and CF3 'formed part of still a third' (Read 1916: 216). A year later, Borchardt (1917) gave three reasons for doubting that the fragments came from the same monument: the different thicknesses, differences in the style and height of the compartments, and differences in the style of the hieroglyphs themselves. He asserted that CF4 and LF did not belong to the same original as PS, and suggested that the surviving fragments represented no fewer than four original annals stones: PS, CF1–3, CF4, and LF. However, rather than measuring the stones themselves, Borchardt relied on photographs and on measurements made by Pellegrini.

New measurements made by Breasted (1931) undermined Borchardt's argument, and established that the PS and CF1 came from the same monument or from two identical annals stones. Breasted noted a variation in width on CF1 from 60mm to 65mm, while PS varies between 51 mm and 65 mm (Breasted 1931: 713–4). By comparison, LF has a width of 53 mm, while CF4 stands out with a width of 81 mm. (The width of CF2 could not be established since the verso is completely destroyed.) In terms of the style and height of the compartments, there is considerable variation even between compartments of PS alone. As for differences in the style of the hieroglyphs, these cannot be dismissed, but may be

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

due in large part to the worn condition of CF1. Breasted concluded that ‘the slight differences in style between the writing on the two pieces is not sufficient ground for assigning them to two different monuments’ (Breasted 1931: 718). Despite rejecting Borchardt’s arguments, Breasted seems to contradict himself by, on the one hand, suggesting that both fragments came from the same monument, while on the other hand asserting that ‘there were at least two copies of [the] ... annals in existence’ (Breasted 1931: 719).

Godron (1952: 20) re-examined the arguments for and against multiple copies of the annals, and concluded that the six fragments known to him (PS, CF1–4, LF) came from one and the same monument. By contrast, Kaiser (1961: 44 n. 2) noted the different thickness — and the different execution of the year divisions — of CF4, and concluded that this fragment almost certainly came from a second annals stone. Helck (1974a: 33) dismissed Kaiser’s arguments, reasoning, like Petrie, that an annals stone was not intended as a work of art and may, therefore, have displayed variable thickness. However, Barta (1981: 22) and Krauss (1996: 46) agreed with Kaiser, arguing that the thickness of CF4 is so different from the other fragments that there must have been at least two annals stones.

The purchase of CF5 in 1963 added another twist to the argument. The inscription on CF5 is carved with great clarity, in marked contrast to the other Cairo fragments. (This fact has also been used to support the identification of CF5 as a modern fake.) This led Cenival (1965: 17) to support the idea that the surviving fragments derive from more than one original. However, the fact that so few fragments have come to light tends to argue against there having been more than one copy of the original annals stone. Moreover, none of the seven fragments overlaps in its contents, and this fact also tends to argue against multiple originals (Helck 1974a: 33).

In addition to considerations of thickness and epigraphy, the disposition of the registers and compartments must also be taken into account when considering whether the seven surviving fragments come from one or more original stones. As Daressy (1916: 169–70) first noted, CF3 seems to adjoin CF1 and may therefore be regarded as part of the same original. Two registers, separated by a titulary

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

band, are preserved on CF3; they span the reigns of Khufu and Djedefra and must represent r.VII and r.VIII of the original annals stone. CF2 also comprises two registers, the uppermost of which documents the reign of Khufu. Yet, on CF2 there is no titulary band separating the two registers. This is completely incompatible with CF3 and, as we have seen, CF3 is very likely to belong to the same original as CF1. In conclusion, CF3 and CF2 cannot both be from the same original, given the different arrangement of registers on the two fragments (Barta 1981: 22). For this reason, Barta excluded CF2 from his reconstruction. (Curiously, Krauss (1996: 46) rejected Barta's conclusion, arguing that 'the scale of the registers and hieroglyphs are the same on all four pieces' (PS and CF1–3). While the *scale* may be the same, the disposition of registers is undoubtedly different on CF2.) It seems that there must originally have been at least two annals stones. (The only other explanation is that CF2 is a modern fake, and the balance of evidence would tend to reject this view.)

A similar problem attends CF4. This fragment spans three registers, without any intervening titulary bands. The uppermost register records the reign of Sneferu; since it mentions the second occasion of the census, it clearly belongs to the early part of the king's reign, corresponding to r.VI of PS (Helck 1974a: 33). Most studies of PS have concluded that a titulary band ran below r.VI, since a trace of the titulary (the female determinative referring to the king's mother) is still visible at the base of the stone (Schäfer 1902: pl. I). However, Helck (1974a: 33) noticed the small trace of a vertical line to the left of the female determinative; he pointed out that it must represent a line dividing columns of text rather than a line dividing year compartments, since the latter have a curved top in keeping with the form of the year-sign (*rnpt*). In other words, the female determinative and the royal titulary to which it belonged were originally inscribed in a horizontal line of text across the top of a year compartment, not in a separate titulary band (Helck 1974a: 34). The change of reign between Sahura and Neferirkara on PS verso is marked in just such a way, with Neferirkara's full titulary inscribed in a horizontal line of text running above further text columns (Schäfer 1902: pl. II). Hence, Helck (1974a: 34) convincingly demonstrated that

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

the absence of a titulary band between the upper and middle registers of CF4 is in keeping with the general disposition of the registers on PS. On this point, therefore, there is no reason to doubt that CF4 belonged to the same original. However, the absence of a titulary band between the middle and lower registers of CF4 (which must correspond to r.VII and r.VIII of the original stone) present the same difficulty as CF2. Once again, the evidence of CF3 seems conclusive: there *was* a titulary band separating these two registers. In conclusion, CF4, like CF2, cannot belong to the same original as CF1/CF3. Krauss (1996: 46) likewise rejected the attribution of CF4 to the same original as PS/CF1/CF3, noting both the different thickness of CF4 and the fact that ‘the scale of the hieroglyphs and the height of the register for recording the height of the inundation are markedly different’.

To summarise, the arrangement of registers seems to preclude CF2 and CF4 having belonged to the same original as PS/CF1/CF3. Whether CF4 and CF2 came from the same stone or two copies cannot be determined. Similarly, it cannot be proven that the composition of both original stones followed the same layout, although this has generally been assumed (Krauss 1996: 46). In conclusion, the surviving fragments almost certainly represent more than one original annals stone. However, without detailed petrographic analysis of all six fragments, or unless an authentic duplicate of one of the existing fragments turns up in the future, it seems unlikely that this question will ever be resolved to the complete satisfaction of scholars (cf. Roccati 1982: 37; and note, for example, the equivocation of Gardiner 1961: 62 and Clagett 1989: 47).

PUBLICATION AND STUDY

More than a century has elapsed since the first publication of the Palermo Stone (Pellegrini 1895); over eight decades have passed since the discovery of the London fragment and four of the five Cairo fragments (CF1–4). In that time, the annals fragments, either singly or collectively, have been the focus of substantial scholarly enquiry (see Appendix 1). Egyptologists from Italy, Germany, France,

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

America, Britain and Russia have pored over the contents of the fragments and have offered varying reconstructions of the original stone (or stones) from which the fragments are thought to derive.

Studies of the annals fall into two broad schools. On the one hand, there are the literalist interpretations: those which have taken the information recorded in the annals at face value, as a factual record of early Egyptian history. For scholars of this school, the fragments offer a first-hand account of events from the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom. Hence, an accurate reconstruction of the original annals stone is seen as crucially important, since it offers the possibility of reconstructing the first five centuries of dynastic rule in the Nile valley. Most studies of the annals to date belong to the literalist school (e.g. Gauthier 1915; Petrie 1916; Ricci 1917; Breasted 1931; Helck 1956, 1964; Kaiser 1961; Cenival 1965; Barta 1981). On the other hand, there are the critical interpretations: those which seek to take account of the original purpose and context of the annals, and in doing so question the objectivity and factual accuracy of the entries. For scholars of this school, the information contained in the annals is more important for the cultural insights it affords, in particular what it can tell us about the ancient Egyptians' own view of history. The controversial study by O'Mara (1979, 1980) represents an extreme example of the critical approach. However, other, more balanced, recent commentaries also belong to the critical school (e.g. Spalinger 1994).

Various reconstructions of the original annals stone(s) have been proposed, most of them by scholars of the 'literalist' school. They are discussed in more detail below. First, the history of scholarship surrounding the annals will be discussed. As will become apparent, a vast amount of academic effort has been expended on these small fragments of inscribed stone.

A century of scholarly inquiry

For thirty-six years after it was first acquired, PS seems to have been largely ignored (Godron 1952: 18). In 1865, the Gaudio family permitted a plaster

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

squeeze to be taken of the inscriptions; this in turn allowed a photolithograph to be made. Either the squeeze or the photolithograph must have come to the attention of the French Egyptologist Vicomte de Rougé, since he mentioned PS, in passing, in a book published a year later (Rougé 1866: 88). This reference was picked up by the Norwegian Egyptologist Lieblein (1873: 15) a few years later, and by the Italian Rossi (1878: 4). The stone was subsequently examined by two German scholars, Eisenlohr (1885) and Wiedemann (1885). The latter was the first to recognise the name of king Huni in the annals of Neferirkara on the verso (although Wiedemann (1885: 78) mistakenly thought Huni was a secondary name of Neferirkara); but otherwise, little interest seems to have been taken in this insignificant-looking artefact. After its acquisition by the Archaeological Museum in Palermo, it languished for eighteen years before receiving due scholarly attention. The French scholar, Émile Guimet, visiting Palermo in 1895, found PS lying on the floor in a corner of a courtyard. It was at this point that an exchange with the Egyptian Museum in Cairo was proposed. However, the stone was mentioned during an encounter between Guimet and Naville in Egypt, rousing the latter's curiosity. He visited Palermo to see the stone for himself. This interest unwittingly halted the negotiations between the Palermo and Cairo museums, but in doing so it awakened scholarly interest in PS, an interest which has survived to this day.

Pellegrini (1895)

Perhaps prompted by Naville's visit and by an increasing level of interest in PS, the Italian Egyptologist Astorre Pellegrini (1844–1908) published the first article on the stone in the local Sicilian archaeological journal.

Schäfer (1902)

In many ways still the fundamental study, the 1902 publication of PS by the German Egyptologist Heinrich Schäfer (1868–1957), with the assistance of

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Borchardt and Sethe, has remained an invaluable reference for scholars of the annals (cf. Godron 1952: 18). To accompany photographic plates of the recto and verso (by the curator of the Palermo Museum, Salinas), Schäfer offered line drawings of each separate year compartment, together with a full translation of the text and explanatory comments. Scholarship has advanced considerably in the century since Schäfer's publication, and many of his translations can now be modified. Nevertheless, his work stands as a superb example of early philology.

Naville (1903)

The first detailed commentary on PS, complementing Schäfer's translation, was published by the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville (1844–1926), who had examined the artefact for himself some eight years previously. This examination prompted an initial, brief discussion of PS, in which Naville stressed its importance for a better understanding of Old Kingdom history (Naville 1899: 112–17). His 1903 study was an impressive achievement for its time, even though several of his interpretations have been proved erroneous by subsequent scholarship. His line drawing of PS verso remains particularly useful. Naville's commentary was the first to delve into the many intricacies of the annals. In doing so, it began a flood of detailed analyses of the PS inscriptions in an attempt to illuminate the remote history of Egypt's early dynasties.

Sethe (1903)

The German scholar, Kurt Sethe (1869–1934), made an early attempt to reconstruct the original length of PS, based upon careful measurements of the compartments in the different registers and the reign lengths from later king lists (especially Manetho). However, he did not take into account the variation in compartment width within each register, and his use of later sources was uncritical. Some of Sethe's observations were inspired, others mistaken. Yet his

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

study undoubtedly prompted a surge of scholarly interest in the annals, as attested in the rash of articles and publications which followed in the next few years.

Meyer (1904)

A contributor to Sethe's (1903) study was fellow German, Eduard Meyer (1855–1930). He mistakenly believed that the enumeration of months and days at the beginning of a reign signified the date of accession (Meyer in Sethe 1903: 73), a misunderstanding which led him into all sorts of difficulties. Yet his interest in the calendrical and chronological information contained in PS remained undimmed. Meyer expounded his theories in greater detail in a book of his own, published a year after Sethe's work. He made a number of important observations, for instance noting that most years in the annals seem to have been designated by events predictable in advance (Meyer 1904: 186) — though he did not explore the ramifications of this. He also argued that the rulers in r.I should be equated with the quasi-mythical predecessors of Menes listed in the Turin Canon as *šmsw-Hr*, 'the followers of Horus'; the list was not therefore to be regarded as an historical record of Predynastic kings (Meyer 1904: 203–4). In order to refine the chronology of the first five dynasties, Meyer offered his own reconstruction of the annals, based solely upon PS as the Cairo fragments had not yet come to light. This was seriously weakened by a number of misunderstandings. For example, Meyer took the reference to Khasekhemwy in PS r.V.4 to indicate the year of the king's birth. But Meyer's study undoubtedly prompted other scholars to attempt their own reconstructions of the annals, a process that has not ceased in the nine decades since.

Breasted (1906a)

The first translation of PS into English appeared just four years after Schäfer's ground-breaking publication. Carried out by the distinguished American scholar James Henry Breasted (1865–1935), the translation largely followed Schäfer's

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

German translation, with a few modifications. Breasted avoided extensive commentary, but his publication remains an invaluable point of first reference for English studies of the annals.

Maspero (1912)

By the standards of modern scholarship, the commentary on PS by the French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero (1846–1916) is riddled with errors of interpretation. Our understanding both of early epigraphy and of Early Dynastic civilisation has increased immeasurably during the last few decades. Publications such as Maspero's emphasise the importance of the annals; but his study cannot be relied upon for an accurate translation or interpretation.

Gauthier (1914, 1915)

Another Frenchman, Henri Gauthier (1877–1950), was the first to bring the newly-acquired Cairo fragments to the attention of the wider scholarly community. In a brief preliminary article (Gauthier 1914), he described the general character of the fragments and successfully located CF1 with respect to PS by means of the Fifth Dynasty annals on the verso. A full publication of the inscriptions of CF1–4, accompanied by photographs, line drawings and translations, followed a year later (Gauthier 1915). Gauthier's drawings, like his translations, contain several errors and omissions. (For example, he omits the *dšr*-sign from CF1 r.II.2 (Gauthier 1915: 39).) Like other scholars of his generation (and of generations since), Gauthier believed that the annals were an important source for reconstructing the history of the first five dynasties (Gauthier 1915: 29), and his two articles did much to promote the Cairo fragments as significant additions to PS in this regard.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Daressy (1916)

Following Gauthier's landmark publication of the Cairo fragments, his compatriot Georges Daressy (1864–1938) published a fuller analysis of the annals. This made several important additions and modifications to Gauthier's transcription of CF1–4. For example, Daressy was the first to restore portions of CF1 r.VII and r.VIII (Daressy 1916: 169–70). His careful scholarship also made sense of some particularly obscure references (e.g. Daressy 1916: 175), to the great benefit of Egyptology. Daressy's transcriptions were accompanied by brief commentaries on some passages, though still far from comprehensive. Much of his article was concerned with an attempt to reconstruct the original annals. Details of this are given below. In the process of attempting a reconstruction, he made some pertinent observations. For example, he noted numerous inconsistencies between the two key, later sources, the Turin Canon and the king list of Manetho (Daressy 1916: 201). Moreover, Daressy (1916: 187–8) observed that, despite the great confidence placed in the Turin Canon by Egyptologists, it could not be considered infallible as an historical source. Later scholars would have done well to heed these *caveats*.

Petrie (1916)

Publication of LF (recto only), which the 'father of Egyptian archaeology' Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) had acquired on the antiquities market in Cairo, gave him an opportunity to turn his own talents to the problems of the annals. Combining the information on PS and the newly-published Cairo fragments, Petrie used a characteristically mathematical model for reconstructing the presumed original stone. Details of Petrie's reconstruction are discussed below.

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Read (1916)

In a review article of Gauthier 1915, the English scholar F.W. Read made several additional comments on PS, contributing to the debate over whether all the fragments stemmed from the same original. Noting the different thickness of CF4, and arguing that ‘it is almost impossible to fit [Cairo] Fragment 2 into the Palermo Stone’, Read proposed that there were three originals. In his comments on r.I, Read made the important observation that

“the mere wearing of the lower [Egyptian] crown proved nothing because that crown is frequently worn by the kings of united Egypt, and in the lists of kings we find the upper [Egyptian] and the lower [Egyptian] crowns borne alternately though no one doubts that the kings reigned over the whole country” (Read 1916: 220).

In other words, the type of regalia worn by the seated royal figures in r.I should not be taken as a certain indication of the geographical extent of their rule. These wise words of caution seem to have been ignored in most subsequent studies of the annals.

From his study of PS, Read proposed reign lengths for three of the kings. He also noted the variation in width between the compartments of a single register, and acknowledged the problems this posed for an accurate reconstruction (Read 1916: 217–18).

Borchardt (1917)

The eminent German Egyptologist, Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938), joined the debate a year later with his own analysis and reconstruction of the annals (discussed below). Study of PS and its associated fragments had now become a truly international effort.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Ricci (1917)

The unprecedented interest in the annals was marked by a third proposed reconstruction in two years, this time by the British bibliographer and antiquary Seymour de Ricci (1881–1942). His study is also discussed below.

Breasted (1931)

Having already offered a translation of PS, Breasted was particularly interested in r.I, believing it to offer ‘conclusive inscriptional confirmation’ (Breasted 1931: 724) that Egypt had been unified in the Predynastic period by a line of Lower Egyptian kings. Whilst this interpretation is no longer sustainable — especially in the light of recent archaeological evidence — Breasted made a significant contribution to the study of the annals by publishing an extensive set of measurements, conducted at first hand on PS and CF1. In keeping with the general attitude of early scholars of the annals, Breasted expressed considerable optimism about the potential of the annals for understanding early Egyptian history. He earnestly believed that a successful reconstruction of the annals, combined with the restoration of the Turin Canon, would allow scholars ‘to recover the chronology and history of early dynastic and predynastic Egypt with some approach to finality’ (Breasted 1931: 709). Seven decades and several reconstructions of the annals later, this seems as elusive a goal, as vain a hope, as ever.

Godron (1952)

The French Egyptologist, Gérard Godron, made an important contribution to the study of the annals by summarising the early history of the fragments and discussing their probable provenance. He also analysed the arguments for and against there having been more than one annals stone, concluding that, until proof

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

positive of a duplicate stone can be produced, it is safer to assume that there was but one original (Godron 1952: 20).

Helck (1956)

Perhaps prompted by Godron's summary article, the German Egyptologist Wolfgang Helck (1914–1993) published the first in a series of detailed studies of the annals. He realised that there were several internal clues to reconstructing the annals — such as the regularity of the 'following of Horus' and the census counts in PS r.IV — yet he placed great emphasis on later king lists, particularly the Turin Canon and Manetho. As we shall see, this methodology is fraught with dangers. Helck's reconstruction — which is discussed more fully below — pointed out some of the difficulties involved in such an exercise. For example, it allowed Qaa a reign of just 25 years, apparently contradicting contemporary inscriptions which mention the king's second Sed-festival. Here, as on other points of difficulty, Helck was forced to devise an ingenious (if tortured) explanation, suggesting that Qaa had 'appropriated' the reign of his predecessor Anedjib. Such difficulties have beset all subsequent attempts to reconstruct the annals. Yet there is no doubt that Helck's study influenced an entire generation of scholars, and his life-long interest in the annals kept them at the centre of Egyptological discussion.

Tcherezov (1960)

In an article written in Russian, Tcherezov compared the style of the hieroglyphs on the two sides of PS and concluded that the recto and verso were carved at different times, by different hands. He dated the recto to the Fourth Dynasty, the verso to the reign of Neferirkara in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. Moreover, because the entries in the Fifth Dynasty annals concern mostly donations to temples, Tcherezov suggested that the stone was a sort of temple immunity decree, the primary purpose of which was to record and publicise such donations.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Tcherezov also offered a translation of the Fifth Dynasty portion of PS, drawing upon other documents of the period (Janssen (ed.) 1962: 236).

Kaiser (1961)

Perhaps the most influential study of the annals to date by an eminent Egyptologist is that by the leading German scholar Werner Kaiser. Kaiser's interest lay primarily in Egyptian prehistory and early history, and he recognised the annals as a vital source. In a fundamental work of scholarship, he offered a detailed analysis of the annals and a fully-argued reconstruction. However, despite his unquestioned erudition, Kaiser evidently believed in the objectivity of the annals as an historical source, and in the usefulness of later king lists (such as the Abydos king list, the Turin Canon, and even Manetho) for assisting a reconstruction. Both beliefs may be seriously questioned, as we shall see.

Cenival (1965)

A seventh fragment of early royal annals turned up on the Egyptian antiquities market in the 1960s. It was bought, and presented to the Cairo Museum, by the Frenchman Jean-Louis de Cenival. In his publication of CF5, Cenival expressed the commonly held view that the surviving portions of the annals constitute the basis of all research into dynastic history and early Egyptian chronology (Cenival 1965: 14). He confidently asserted that the annals were 'historical' texts, moreover texts worthy of confidence — in terms of their accuracy for investigating early Egyptian history — because of their very antiquity (Cenival 1965: 14). Although the original annals stone was probably compiled in the late Old Kingdom, the portions that survive may derive from a later copy. Whether the documents date to the third millennium or not, their use as objective 'historical' sources must be seriously questioned. The original purpose and location of the annals would argue in favour of a more contextual, less literal interpretation.

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Giustolisi (1968, 1969)

The purchase and publication of CF5 re-awakened interest in the annals, and prompted the Italian scholar Vittorio Giustolisi to write a new, detailed description of the primary fragment, PS, accompanied by photographs of the monument (Giustolisi 1968a). He also published the first photograph of LF verso (Giustolisi 1968a: 14 (right)). In two companion articles, he analysed the contents of PS and suggested his own reconstruction of the annals, commenting briefly on each king attested therein (Giustolisi 1968b, 1969; details of these publications from Janssen (ed.) 1973a: 68; 1973b: 58).

Helck (1970)

In a short article, Helck addressed the probable date of the annals fragments. Conceding that no conclusive answer was likely to be reached, Helck nevertheless made a convincing case for a Twenty-fifth Dynasty date, citing the Shabako Stone ('Memphite theology') as a parallel. If the annals were copied onto stone from an Old Kingdom papyrus document, certain obscure entries might be explained as scribal misunderstandings or copying errors. Helck speculated that the annals stone may originally have had a dedicatory inscription along the top or down one side. If so, this would have serious implications for any reconstruction, since the year compartments might not have spanned the full width of the stone.

Helck (1974a)

Following on from his exhaustive earlier study (Helck 1956), Helck (1974a) returned to the subject of the annals some 18 years later and published a series of further remarks, together with a proposed reconstruction. Details of this are discussed below.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Reeves (1979)

Surprising as it may seem, a translation of the verso of LF — the recto of which had been published by Petrie in 1916 — had to await Nicholas Reeves's short article more than sixty years later. Reeves published a photograph and line drawing of the LF verso, together with a brief commentary on the surviving inscription.

Stewart (1979)

Published in the same year as Reeves's (1979) article on LF verso, H.M. Stewart's catalogue of stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie Museum included the London fragment (Stewart 1979: 6, pl. 3.1). The catalogue entry offered translations for the compartments on LF recto, but otherwise added little to Petrie's original description. It did serve to highlight the fact that 'the incised signs have a modern white filling which is not entirely reliable' (Stewart 1979: 6). This caution has been borne out by the re-inspection of LF for the present work. Hence, the new drawings of LF published here show a few minor discrepancies compared to the previously published drawings (Petrie 1916, Reeves 1979).

O'Mara (1979, 1980)

Despite disagreements concerning the origin of the two main fragments (from a single monument or from two identical copies?), scholars have generally supported the view that PS and CF1 'may be employed to supplement each other' in attempts to reconstruct and interpret the early royal annals (Breasted 1931: 719). A notable exception to this consensus is the American writer Patrick O'Mara, whose studies of the annals have proved the most controversial (O'Mara 1979, 1980, 1986a).

O'Mara pointed out that, in contrast to all the other historic king lists, the Palermo Stone 'spells the early royal names in their archaeologically correct

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

manner'. It is certainly noticeable that 'Khasekhemwy appears in this correct form, in contrast to the Bebti, Djedja, and the Sesochris of later canons' (O'Mara 1979: 74). However, O'Mara (1979: 135) was also at pains to point out that some of the details recorded in the annals may have been fictitious inventions, to suit the vagaries of the original records from which the annals were compiled. Hence, he argued that the census 'is carefully "recorded" year after year for Neteren [Ninetjer] and omitted entirely for Zoser [Netjerikhet] because there was a paucity of materials with which to fill in the long reign of Neteren and a surfeit of materials available for the shorter reign of Zoser' (O'Mara 1979: 93). Moreover, he argued that some entries may have been included merely to give the impression of completeness in cases where the original records were lacking or deficient. O'Mara claimed that nearly 60% of the entries for the reign of Ninetjer 'are "fillers" used to conform to a drafting pattern and need have no other basis than a single jar label referring to an isolated census or a single occurrence of the royal progress' (O'Mara 1979: 93). He even suggested that the frequent mention of the census (*tnwt*) might be 'no more than a projection backward from the custom of the Fifth Dynasty' (O'Mara 1979: 93).

Despite these provocative suggestions, O'Mara's interpretation of the annals fragments is beset by contradictions. He argued for the historicity of the verso, but against the historicity of the recto (O'Mara 1979: 135). On the one hand, he argued that the annals represent the most reliable record of early history, 'based upon solid archaeological materials'; on the other hand, he asserted that many of the details were dictated not by historical accuracy but by the demands of the composition as a whole (O'Mara 1979: 136). Moreover, he argued that 'Egyptians of later days did not know the correct order of their most ancient rulers', and hence that the list of kings preserved in the annals never corresponded to the 'historical' list which archaeology has recovered (O'Mara 1979: 133; also 138, 145). O'Mara's approach is certainly novel: he attempted a reconstruction of the annals while at the same time rejecting their 'historical' accuracy.

In other respects, too, O'Mara's study is undoubtedly the most controversial treatment of the annals to date. His belief that CF1 is a fake — because its

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

drafting does not appear to conform to supposed ancient principles (O'Mara 1979: 121; 1986a), which O'Mara claims to have discerned — has not been accepted by other scholars. (Incidentally, O'Mara (1979: 121) described his conclusion as 'tentative' but expressed it in unequivocal language: 'Any and all conclusions hitherto based upon this spurious stone [CF1] are invalid'.) His observations of CF1 were, by his own admission, 'based solely upon study of the photographs and not of the stone itself' (O'Mara 1979: 124); this seriously weakens his argument. First-hand observation of CF1 flatly contradicts O'Mara's (1979: 126) assertion that 'none of the carving upon the Cairo Stone is weathered; the lines and curves are fresh'. A number of other claims made for the annals are not supported by any evidence. For example, O'Mara (1979: 109) stated that 'the stone was completed (according to a chronology which it itself provides) in the year 2581 BC after a labor of 59 years, and traced a period of 551 years from Unification, which it set in the year 3128 BC'.

O'Mara's controversial reconstruction of the annals is discussed at length below.

Barta (1981)

The latest in a long line of German scholars to study the annals in detail is Winfried Barta. His study drew heavily on the earlier work of Kaiser (1961) and Helck (1974a), while offering some important modifications. His methodology, and the details of his proposed reconstruction are discussed below.

Roccati (1982)

The annals of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty kings preserved on all seven fragments were translated afresh in the early 1980s by Alessandro Roccati, for a collection of Old Kingdom historical texts. Roccati's translations are at variance with the modern scholarly consensus on a number of points. For example, he follows much earlier commentators in interpreting the enumeration of months and

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

days at the beginning of a new reign as a date (Roccati 1982: 42). His restoration of certain entries on the poorly-preserved Cairo fragments can also be questioned (for example CF3 r.L.1).

Helck (1982)

As the pre-eminent scholar of the annals, it was fitting that Helck should write the entry on PS and its associated fragments in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Helck's brief article remains a useful summary of the annals fragments and their interpretation.

O'Mara (1986a, 1986b, 1987)

O'Mara subsequently reiterated some of his most contentious claims (O'Mara 1979, 1980) in three shorter articles (1986a, 1986b, 1987). In particular O'Mara argued that CF1 and the other smaller fragments (CF2–5, LF) were modern fakes with no historical value.

Clagett (1989)

The 'most complete translation of all the fragments yet made in any language' (Clagett 1989: 61) was published by the American scholar Marshall Clagett, in his wide-ranging work on ancient Egyptian science. Arranged chronologically (i.e. reign by reign), rather than fragment by fragment, Clagett's translation provides an extremely useful overview of the annals as a 'historiographical document' (Clagett 1989: 47) and includes commentary on some of the most important entries. Perhaps the most innovative aspect of Clagett's work is his identification of a 'primitive place-value system' (Clagett 1989: 56–7) in the areas of land recorded in the Fifth Dynasty annals (see the following commentary on PS for the implications of this hypothesis). Because it is embedded in a much broader work — moreover one that is unlikely to have reached a wide

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Egyptological audience — Clagett's impressive achievement has made little impact among the scholarly community. It deserves to be taken seriously, even if some of the translations and comments betray a lack of detailed knowledge of early Egyptian élite culture.

Spalinger (1994)

In a passing comment on the Palermo Stone and its associated fragments, Anthony Spalinger (1994: 281 n. 12) warned that, as a product of the Fifth Dynasty, the annals 'could have been prone to mistakes and interpolations by the annalist(s)'. He correctly observed that PS is 'a less valid source for reconstructing the regnal years (numbering and names) [of Early Dynastic kings] than the contemporary data'.

O'Mara (1996)

O'Mara's latest contribution to the debate on the annals argued that they were compiled in the Old Kingdom 'on the basis of primitive archaeological guesswork' (O'Mara 1996: 200), and hence that they do not represent an accurate record of Early Dynastic history as reconstructed by modern archaeology. O'Mara (1996: 207) suggested that the source material available to the compilers was limited to 'manifold bits of pottery, wood, and ivory gathered from dilapidated tomb areas or from royal collections'. In his view, the Nile height measurements recorded in the annals are 'fictional' and 'characterised by mindless repetitions' (O'Mara 1996: 201); he argued that they were added to give 'an appearance of reality' (O'Mara 1996: 200). He rejected the list of Predynastic kings in r.I as being 'of no historical worth' (O'Mara 1996: 203), and argued that the regular enumeration of the biennial census in r.IV and r.V lacks historical reliability (O'Mara 1996: 204).

O'Mara's arguments are forcefully made, but many of his claims lack solid supporting evidence, and have therefore received scant support. Nevertheless,

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

some of his points are pertinent and should be considered seriously by anyone attempting to interpret the annals. For example, the discrepancies between the later king lists in the order and number of rulers from the first three dynasties does indeed suggest that there was no reliable, contemporary list of early kings at the disposal of annalists (O'Mara 1996: 204–5). Many scholars have assumed that the annals were based upon surviving Early Dynastic records; yet 'it is extremely unlikely that systematic chronicle-type annals could have been kept' at this early period, since 'it would have been unparalleled in history for the Egyptians of the First Dynasty to have done what no other ancient peoples did: maintain continuous historical records from the very beginning of their history' (O'Mara 1996: 207).

Reconstructions

"The Palermo Stone has often been regarded as an unopened storehouse of lost secrets out of a forgotten past, holding the promise of tantalizing rewards for its reconstruction" (O'Mara 1979: 1). In the century since their first publication, PS and its associated fragments have been the subject of many attempted reconstructions by eminent Egyptologists. Each has sought to unlock the many mysteries of early Egyptian history, using the annals as the key. Yet the perfect reconstruction has eluded scholars. The task is so replete with problems and complications that even scholars from the same tradition have produced very different results. For example, the three principal reconstructions of the annals in the latter half of the twentieth century have been proposed by three German scholars: Kaiser (1961), Helck (1974a) and Barta (1981). Despite sharing a similar philosophy, these three studies differ in several fundamental ways. Kaiser's reconstruction, published before CF5 came to light, excluded CF4 because he believed it to have come from a second annals stone (Kaiser 1961: 44 n. 2). Helck (1974a: 33), on the other hand, argued that CF4 came from the same original as the other pieces, and included all seven fragments in his reconstruction. Barta (1981: 22) rejected Helck's arguments and went further than

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Kaiser by excluding CF2 as well. A glance at the drawings of these three reconstructions (Kaiser 1961: 43 fig. 1; Helck 1974a: 34; Barta 1981: 16 fig. 1) highlights other major differences between them, for example the number of compartments in the illegible, lower registers of CF1, and the placement of CF3. Despite the formidable obstacles, attempts to reconstruct the annals are likely to continue, since the fragments never cease to exercise a magnetic fascination for all scholars of early Egypt. The principal attempts at reconstruction to date are discussed below.

Daressy (1916)

Unlike later attempts at reconstruction, the one presented by Daressy (1916) seems to have been less concerned with restoring the original appearance of the annals than with using the information they might provide to enhance understanding of early Egyptian history. Idiosyncratic in many respects, Daressy's conclusions have found few, if any, adherents. For example, he reconstructed the stone with four extra registers above the traditional r.I, narrow borders framing v.I–III, and a figure of the king who dedicated the annals at the bottom right-hand corner of the verso (Daressy 1916: 200). Much of the reconstruction was based on sound measurements and logical deductions about the arrangement of reigns on the verso of the annals. However, conclusions about the order of kings and the length of their reigns were riddled with errors, a striking illustration of how little scholars of the day knew about early Egypt. For example, Daressy (1916: 163) identified the king in CF1 r.II (Djer) as Khasekhem, now known to have reigned in the late Second Dynasty. Hence, Daressy's results are of little use today.

Petrie (1916)

One of the first attempts to reconstruct the original appearance of the annals, using the information contained in both PS and CF1, was made by Petrie (1916).

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Showing his penchant for mathematical solutions to archaeological problems, Petrie realised that the difference in width between the year compartments in the different registers could be used to establish the original relationship between PS and CF1. He concluded that the reigns of both Userkaf and Sahura began at the right-hand edge of the verso; but as for the left-hand edge, he had to concede defeat in the face of insurmountable obstacles:

“Were the equality of the divisions more accurate, we might discover the opposite end of the monument, by the unison of the scales; but the irregularities prevent accurate conclusions at such a distance.” (Petrie 1916: 116)

Petrie’s early attempt at reconstruction drew some important conclusions. For example, he seems to have been the first to identify the second king in PS r.II as Djer, and the first king as his predecessor Aha. This has been followed by scholars ever since. Indeed, there is other, internal evidence for identifying the second king as Djer, without reference to CF1 (see below, commentary on the Palermo Stone). Interestingly, Petrie also postulated that the reign of Narmer must have been recorded at the beginning of r.II, since the line of (mythical) Predynastic kings extended ‘up close to the end of the first row’ (Petrie 1916: 117). This conclusion has been rejected by the German scholars (Kaiser, Helck, Barta) who have dominated subsequent attempts to reconstruct the annals; they all identify Aha as the first king with detailed entries in the annals. Petrie realised that a king’s titulary was placed roughly above the centre of the compartments comprising his reign. However, Petrie noted that ‘it may not have been quite in the middle’, and that there is no proof that a titulary was centred. These are important considerations to bear in mind when attempting reconstruction of the annals. (It has generally been assumed that titularies were centred.)

Other conclusions reached by Petrie have not found favour. For example, he identified the king in PS r.III as Anedjib, despite the fact that Newberry and Wainwright (1914) had already made a link with Den, based upon similarities

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

between the annals entries and the events recorded on year labels of Den from Abydos (Petrie 1916: 117).

Petrie recognised a fundamental problem associated with reconstructions of the annals, and one that has plagued and influenced scholars ever since: the reign lengths arrived at by any reconstruction do not agree with those recorded in other ancient sources (the Turin Canon and Manetho's king list). Indeed, 'the differences between the lengths of reigns [in the reconstructed annals and those] in Manetho and in the lists is marked' (Petrie 1916: 118). Petrie and most subsequent commentators have tried to reconcile the differences, often by inspired and/or tortuous arguments. Petrie's own convoluted, and now unsustainable, solution was to propose that 'there were two modes of reckoning a reign' (Petrie 1916: 118). He suggested that the annals recorded the 'vital reign' of each king, calculated from the death of one king to the death of his successor; whereas Manetho recorded the 'virile reign', calculated from co-regency to co-regency. (Petrie argued that, 'according to African custom', a successor was appointed when the reigning king reached old age, but before his death.) This led Petrie to the unlikely conclusions that Djer survived most of his successor's reign, and that Den 'outlived Azab [Anedjib], and died in the reign of Semerkhet' (Petrie 1916: 119).

Borchardt (1917)

The year after Petrie published his study of the annals, Borchardt (1917) offered his own reconstruction of the original stone. He favoured metrology as a method for reconstructing the original annals stone: he made precise measurements of the compartments in each register and calculated the best arrangement whereby the end of every register would correspond to the end of a complete compartment. Significantly, he treated PS and CF1 separately, arguing that differences in the compartment widths between the two indicated that they belonged to separate originals (Borchardt 1917: 22). Borchardt calculated that the annals stone from

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

which CF1 came was characterised by a slightly different arrangement of compartments compared to the PS original.

The estimated reign lengths arrived at by Borchardt were based purely upon his measurements of the annals, and he made no attempt to reconcile them with the figures recorded in the king lists and Manetho. In this respect, at least, Borchardt was the first scholar to treat the annals independently, an approach that has been followed by very few commentators since.

Borchardt's methods were later subject to scathing criticism (Peet 1920, Edgerton 1937). On the subject of reconstructions in general, Peet (1920: 154) asked an important question which most subsequent scholars have ignored, but which remains pertinent: 'does a detailed year-by-year reconstruction ..., which in the present state of our knowledge must be almost pure guesswork, serve any useful purpose?' Edgerton (1937: 197 n. 23) went further, describing Borchardt's reconstruction as 'completely worthless' and his conclusions about the chronology of the Sixth Dynasty as 'absolutely unfounded'.

Ricci (1917)

A study of the annals by Ricci, based upon PS and CF1, appeared in the same year as Borchardt's reconstruction. Starting with the verso, Ricci's reconstruction provided reign lengths for Shepseskaf and the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty. Since he believed these figures agreed favourably with the reign lengths given in the Turin Canon — which he evidently trusted as an accurate document (cf. Ricci 1917: 113) — Ricci was confident of the accuracy of his reconstruction as a whole. This encouraged him to assign reign lengths to the kings of the first three dynasties, based upon his restoration of the recto. Ricci mistakenly identified the king in PS r.III as 'Merbap' (Anedjib), and this inevitably distorted his analysis.

In general, Ricci expressed great confidence in the annals as an objective source for early Egyptian history. He enthused: 'Le jour où il aura été possible de combiner exactement les six fragments connus de ce texte, la chronologie des

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

premiers rois de l'Égypte reposera sur des bases aussi certaines que celles des douze Césars' (Ricci 1917: 108). He also believed that the annals offered a more accurate record of reign lengths than Manetho's history of Egypt. Unlike later commentators, Ricci made no attempt to reconcile the figures derived from his study of the annals with those given by Manetho. Indeed, the huge discrepancy between the two sets of reign lengths led Ricci to reject Manetho's figures outright on the grounds of 'national pride or perhaps anti-Semitism' (Ricci 1917: 115).

Helck (1956)

The modern study of the royal annals was pioneered by Helck (1956), who attempted a reconstruction of the presumed original stone and commented on the possible links between the various ancient Egyptian king lists. Helck put forward the argument that the reign lengths recorded in Manetho represent the true 'historical' figures increased by (multiples of) ten years, through scribal errors (Helck 1956: 55). Helck realised that the regularity of the 'following of Horus' in PS r.II and r.IV offered the possibility of a more precise reconstruction than reliance on the verso alone (Helck 1956: 77). The reign of Ninetjer, in particular, offers the most pointers for a reconstruction of the annals as a whole, and of the size of the missing portion between PS and CF1.

Helck's reconstruction of the annals depended upon certain assumptions, some of which are almost certainly erroneous. For example, the assumption that the Sed-festival recorded in PS r.III (probably the reign of Den) must have been celebrated in the king's thirtieth regnal year (Helck 1956: 78) contradicts our current understanding of this festival (Hornung and Staehelin 1974: 54–6; Gohary 1992). Helck's study established the right-hand end of the recto but encountered problems in trying to establish the left-hand end. His reconstruction relied heavily on the reign lengths given in the various secondary accounts of Manetho's history, and came up with tortuous explanations for cases where the two sets of figures did not coincide (e.g. Helck 1956: 79–80 concerning the reign of Qaa).

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Helck did not give a full diagram of his proposed reconstruction; this had to wait until his subsequent study published in 1974 (see below).

Kaiser (1961)

Following Helck's resurrection of the annals as a topic of scholarly investigation, other Egyptologists took up the challenge. A magisterial and highly influential study was published by Kaiser (1961). His reconstruction sought, in particular, to address the identity and number of the kings listed in the topmost register of the recto, in other words the kings attributed by the annals' compilers to the period before the First Dynasty (Kaiser 1961: 44). In his interpretation of r.I, he argued, controversially, that the Predynastic kings listed here have a basis in historical fact, rather than reflecting later myths and traditions of Egypt's origins (Kaiser 1961: 53). According to Kaiser, the difference between the kings of r.I and those in subsequent registers is not their historical veracity but the absence of annals for any ruler before Aha (Kaiser 1961: 54). This absence necessitated abbreviated entries for the pre-First Dynasty kings, giving only their names. Kaiser believed it unlikely that r.I spanned the entire width of the annals, since this would imply more than a hundred kings, a figure which cannot easily be reconciled with the evidence for Predynastic kingship. (However, if the rulers named in the First Register are not historical but mythical figures, as their unreadable names might suggest, then their number might have been equally mythical, and need not agree with the archaeological evidence for Predynastic kingship.) Since the compartments in CF1 r.I (which show kings wearing the double crown) are narrower than those in PS r.I (which show kings wearing the red crown), it is possible that the kings of r.I were originally arranged in groups, and did not follow any strictly chronological order. This is all the more likely if the names represent a mythical tradition, akin to the 'demi-gods' and 'followers of Horus' mentioned in the later king lists.

Following Petrie, Kaiser based his reconstruction on the assumption that the missing portion between PS and CF1 spanned a width of nine compartments, as

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

measured in r.II. By contrast, Daressy (1916), Borchardt (1917) and Helck (1956) had assumed a width corresponding to eleven compartments (Kaiser 1961: 44). Kaiser argued that a missing portion nine compartments wide best satisfied the other internal evidence of the two fragments, including: the correspondence of r.II–V; the regularity of the *šms-Hr* and the six-yearly bark festival in r.II–IV; and the presumed correspondence between the annals, the Turin Canon and Manetho's king list (Kaiser 1961: 44).

Some of the assumptions inherent in Kaiser's reconstruction of the annals are questionable in the light of more recent scholarship. Like Helck, Kaiser believed that the annals reflected the same historiographical tradition as later king lists. Indeed, Kaiser argued that these later records were just as valuable as the internal evidence of the surviving annals fragments themselves (Kaiser 1961: 44). To support this view, and to reconcile the many glaring inconsistencies between the annals and later king lists, Kaiser followed Helck in arguing that the reign lengths given in Manetho are often too high by simple multiples of ten years. For example, Manetho gives the First Dynasty king Semerkhet (Semempses) a reign of 18 years; whereas CF1 records the king's entire reign as having spanned only 8½ years. Whilst this particular instance may be an example of Manetho's figure being ten years too high, the other inconsistencies are less amenable to such juggling of figures. Manetho gives Semerkhet's predecessor, Anedjib, a reign of 26 years; even if this figure is reduced by 2x10 years, the result (6 years) does not agree with Kaiser's own reconstruction of the annals, which suggests that Anedjib reigned for 8 years. Kaiser sought to explain the discrepancy by counting only the complete years of Anedjib's reign (Kaiser 1961: 45). But, in other cases (for example, Ninetjer), he used the total number of complete *and* partial years. It seems that Kaiser selected whichever figure seemed to offer the best hope of reconciling the various king lists. Such a method lacks consistency and cannot easily be defended. Methodological inconsistency is also evident elsewhere in Kaiser's analysis. For example, his reconstruction gives Djer a reign of 41 years, but in doing so assumes that the king's titulary was not centred over his annals (unlike the titulary of every other king). Kaiser offered no comment or

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

explanation for this anomaly. The figure of 41 years seems to have been determined by considerations external to the annals fragments themselves.

Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, an apparently unshakeable belief in consistency between the Turin Canon, Manetho and the annals informs almost every aspect of Kaiser's reconstruction. Because the annals indicate that the first king in PS r.V reigned for a maximum of 16 full years, Kaiser rejected the identification of this ruler as Khasekhemwy, simply because the Turin Canon allots Khasekhemwy a reign of 27 years. Instead, the king in question was identified as Nebka (Kaiser 1961: 46). Yet, recent archaeological evidence (Dreyer *et al.* 1998; Wilkinson 1999: 95) has proved beyond reasonable doubt that there was no such king in this position, Khasekhemwy having been succeeded on the throne by Netjerikhet (even though later lists interpose a king Nebka as first ruler of the Third Dynasty).

More seriously, Kaiser allowed his belief in the veracity of the Turin Canon (and, to a lesser extent, Manetho) to override his observations of the annals themselves. (Yet, only recently, Krauss (1996: 45) lauded Kaiser's methodology as 'the most stringent used in any reconstruction proposed to date' and his conclusions as 'the most plausible in historical terms'.) He noted that the number of compartments between the change of reign marked in PS r.V and that marked in CF1 r.V totalled twenty-six full and two incomplete years. He also realised that this figure could be broken down into two periods of 19+2 and 6+2 years respectively; these periods corresponded exactly (if the incomplete years at the beginning and end of a reign were ignored) to the reign-lengths given by the Turin Canon and Manetho for Djoser and his successor. Hence, Kaiser inserted a change of reign through the middle of CF1 r.V.3 to suit his proposed reconstruction, even though no such dividing line is visible on the fragment itself (Kaiser 1961: 46). This spurious change of reign has since found its way into subsequent reconstructions of the annals (Helck 1974a, Barta 1981; note also Clagett 1989: 134 n. 77), demonstrating the danger of granting later king lists greater importance than the surviving fragments themselves. There is no way of knowing whether the annals (with their archaeologically correct early royal

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

names) and the later king lists (with their garbled, corrupt or archaeologically unattested royal names) belonged to the same annals tradition. Indeed, on the face of it, it seems rather unlikely. Therefore, reconstructions of the annals based on later king lists must be treated with extreme caution.

In other ways, too, Kaiser's reconstruction contradicts the available evidence for the history of the first three dynasties. First, like Helck before him, Kaiser assumed that the Sed-festival recorded in PS r.III must have been celebrated in the king's thirtieth year (Kaiser 1961: 45). More recently, Barta (1981: 12) has observed that in the Early Dynastic period the Sed-festival was not always celebrated at the thirtieth jubilee. Hence, it is preferable to ignore Sed-festival celebrations as historical markers. Second, although contemporary First Dynasty inscriptions indicate that Qaa celebrated at least one Sed-festival, Kaiser argued that this reflects an 'appropriation' of the reigns of his two predecessors, bringing his own total to more than 30 years. Kaiser (1961: 48) also suggested that there was a period of instability during the reigns of Anedjib and Semerkhet, something for which there is no contemporary evidence. Third, Kaiser placed king Sened at the end of r.IV, following the reign of Peribsen. Yet this flatly contradicts the evidence of later king lists, evidence by which Kaiser set great store elsewhere in his analysis. Fourth, Kaiser's reconstructed r.V gave Huni a reign of just 10 years. This figure neither agrees with the Turin Canon (which gives Huni 24 years), nor with the surviving monuments from Huni's reign which suggest a more lengthy period on the throne (although Kaiser, 1961: 49 n.1, disputes this).

Kaiser was evidently keen that the annals should provide a source for investigating Egyptian history before the First Dynasty. His approach involves a very literal interpretation of the annals, and seems to misunderstand their cultural context and purpose. The likelihood that the annals were originally set up in a temple means that the records inscribed on the stone will have reflected an ideal of historical and royal continuity rather than the reality of succession.

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Helck (1974a)

Following on from his earlier study (1956), Helck (1974a) subsequently proposed a full reconstruction of the annals. Once again, this was heavily influenced by the Turin Canon and Manetho. In cases where the length of a particular reign, as derived from a reconstruction of the annals, differed from the corresponding figure given in the Turin Canon, Helck sought to reconcile the difference. In doing so, he unwittingly provided an illustration of the pitfalls faced by scholars in such an endeavour. In his earlier study, Helck (1956: 80) had suggested that the figure of 62 years given by Manetho for Menes represented a simple reversal of a figure of 26 years. In a similar vein, Helck (1974a) sought to reconcile the 42 years given by Manetho to Huni with the 24 years for the same king recorded in the Turin Canon. He argued that this could have come about through a simple reversal of the two digits. This works in the Arabic numerals familiar to Helck, but not in the Egyptian or Greek numerical systems used by Manetho and his copyists (cf. Barta 1981: 20).

Helck made some modifications to Kaiser's reconstruction, notably extending the annals on the left-hand side of the recto. Whilst this reconstruction is plausible for the late Third Dynasty, it creates its own problems for the end of the Second Dynasty. In order to fill the space between the reign of Peribsen and the end of r.IV, Helck proposed that the annals included at this point the reigns of three minor Second Dynasty kings listed in the Turin Canon: Neferka, Neferkaseker and an anonymous ruler (given as Hudjefa in the Turin Canon, which signifies a lacuna in the records from which the papyrus was compiled). However, there is not a shred of contemporary, Early Dynastic evidence for the existence of kings called Neferka or Neferkaseker, and we cannot tell when these (fictitious?) names entered the king lists. It may well be that the compilers of the Turin Canon followed an historiographical tradition dating back to the Fifth Dynasty, but there is simply no way of proving this.

In a rather circular argument, Helck suggested that the similarities between the Turin Canon and his reconstruction of the annals (itself based upon the Turin

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Canon!) indicated that both documents stemmed from the same source, or even that the Turin Canon was based on an earlier annals stone. If the surviving annals fragments date to the 25th Dynasty, it is just possible (though not provable) that the source material from which they were compiled had been available to the Ramesside scribes who wrote the Turin Canon.

O'Mara (1979, 1980)

Borchardt's (1917) early work on metrology — using detailed measurements to reconstruct the annals — was taken up enthusiastically by O'Mara (1979, 1980), who produced the most extensive study to date of the annals fragments. Some aspects of O'Mara's controversial analysis have been discussed above. He argued that certain patterns in the arrangement of the compartments could be detected, and that these in turn allowed the original stone to be reconstructed accurately. However, O'Mara's measurements — which lie at the heart of his study — were based upon secondary sources, primarily drawings and photographs of the fragments. He did not measure the fragments themselves, and this must seriously weaken his analysis.

O'Mara (1979: 126) dismissed all the fragments except the Palermo Stone as 'forgeries upon blank stones', and hence concentrated his attempts at reconstruction on PS: 'Rid of the preconceptions imposed upon us by [the main] Cairo [fragment], we are now free to let the Palermo Stone alone guide us in our search for the original and authentic king list' (O'Mara 1979: 131). While it is true that CF1 has profoundly influenced reconstructions of early Egyptian history, in the light of new archaeological evidence, especially from Abydos, it can no longer be fairly claimed that the chronology of the period rests entirely on this fragment of the annals (*contra* O'Mara 1979: 114).

From his metrological study, O'Mara (1979: 109) deduced that PS originally comprised a total of 571 compartments, spanning a period from 'Unification through to the end of the reign of Raneferef'. Bizarrely, O'Mara (1979: 151–2) argued that the Palermo Stone began with the reign of Den, identifying the king in

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

PS r.III as Qaa. O'Mara's (1980) reconstruction may yield 'a structure that is completely rational in terms of the Egyptian cubit rod' (O'Mara 1980: 1), but it bears very little, if any, resemblance to the chronology of early Egypt, either that recorded by the Egyptians themselves in the later king lists or that recovered by modern scholarship. O'Mara (1980: 3–4) claimed that his 'relatively pure king list' reflected 'the mind of the Egyptian'. This claim cannot be proven or disproven, but O'Mara's king list is completely at odds with the weight of twentieth century Egyptological scholarship. Indeed, O'Mara's belief that 'Egyptian chronology was a branch of art and was subject to the mathematical and design requirements of the Egyptian mind' puts his analysis of the annals in a very different category from the studies of earlier and later scholars. His study aimed not so much to reconstruct the original annals stone as to recover the origins and methods of ancient Egyptian historiography (cf. O'Mara 1986b, 1987, 1996).

O'Mara claimed to have discovered a cyclical system of dating ('Pseudo-Sothic') used within the annals and, in a circular argument, used this to confirm the 'absolute reliability' of his reconstruction, which he hailed as 'a new independent source'. O'Mara's extravagant claims and controversial theories have not won general acceptance. His readers have taken him at his word, and have decided for themselves 'whether [his] elaborate structure of stone and time ... represents a Ptolemaic piling of illusion upon illusion or ... a valid fresh Copernican reality' (O'Mara 1980: 103). On the positive side, however, his study *has* served to raise some legitimate questions about the annals, in particular their (mis)use as an objective 'historical' source.

Barta (1981)

The most recent reconstruction by a German scholar relied heavily on the earlier work of Helck (1974a), and on many points followed his reconstruction in preference to that of Kaiser (1961). In particular, Barta adopted Daressy's (1916) interpretation of CF1, according to which the first king in r.IV (probably Ninetjer)

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

occupies nine complete compartments plus one partial year. This contrasts with Borchardt's (1917) publication (followed by Kaiser 1961) which gives the king in question one fewer complete compartment. Even a variation of one year will have significant implications for the reconstruction of the annals. Most studies of the annals have depended upon earlier publications of the fragments themselves. The noted variation between two fundamental publications (Daressy 1916 and Borchardt 1917) illustrates the importance of a reliable new edition of the annals.

In accordance with the Turin Canon, Barta (1981: 12) gave Huni a reign of 24 years (*contra* Kaiser 1961). This necessitated extending the left side of the recto. This in turn resulted in Djer's titulary being placed in the centre of his reign (*contra* Kaiser 1961), and indeed this seems more probable in the light of the internal evidence from the surviving portions of the annals. Barta's reconstruction also extended the reign of Qaa to 33 years, which agrees more closely with the archaeological evidence for a lengthy reign. However, these modifications had a major effect on r.IV. In order to fill the increased space at the end of r.IV, Barta proposed including two of the three ephemeral late Second Dynasty rulers attested in later king lists (but not on contemporary monuments): Neferkaseker and 'Hudjefa'; but his exclusion of the third king of the group, Neferka, seems unwarranted and capricious. (Helck (1974a) was at least consistent in including all three kings in his reconstruction of r.IV.) Barta's justification for including Neferkaseker and 'Hudjefa' at the end of the Second Dynasty was that this more accurately mirrored the Turin Canon and Manetho. (By contrast, Kaiser preferred to rely on the shorter, Abydos king list at this point, even though the remainder of his reconstruction drew heavily upon the Turin Canon and Manetho.) He argued that the annals, like the Turin Canon and Manetho's list, belong to a Lower Egyptian annals tradition; and, hence, that they would have included the reigns of late Second Dynasty kings whom he speculatively identified as Lower Egyptian contemporaries ('Gegenkönige') of Khasekhem.

Controversially, Barta identified the second king in CF1 r.IV as Sekhemib, not Peribsen as generally accepted by other scholars. This seems perverse, since the *serekh* is apparently surmounted by a Seth-animal. We know from contemporary

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

inscriptions that Sekhemib wrote his name in a *serekh* surmounted by the conventional Horus-falcon. Furthermore, in his summary of the annals, Barta made some fundamental errors in his analysis of the Second Dynasty (Barta 1981: 19). He equated Sekhemib with the Wadjnes and Tlas of the king lists, even though the latter two names almost certainly represent the king named in contemporary inscriptions as Weneg. He identified Peribsen as the Sendi/Senedj/Sethenes of later lists, despite the fact that a king Sened (contemporary or predecessor of Peribsen) is known from roughly contemporary sources. The late Second Dynasty poses a particular problem, not only for those who would reconstruct the annals, but for historians of the Early Dynastic period in general. Barta's reconstruction falls down in attempting to reconcile irreconcilable sources for the history of this obscure period.

Where Barta's reconstruction differs most markedly from those proposed by his predecessors is in the demarcation of the beginning and end of each register. Although he accepted that each register began with a new reign, he argued that the compilers of the annals would not have gone so far as to divide a single calendar year between two registers, where a change of reign occurred part way through a year (Barta 1981: 17). Therefore, he placed the year of a reign change at the beginning of each register. In the absence of any direct evidence, this must remain pure speculation.

Barta's analysis relied upon some questionable assumptions. First, in his reconstruction of r.II, he assumed that the festival involving a divine bark — which seems to have been celebrated every six years in the reign of Ninetjer — will have had the same periodic celebration in the First Dynasty (Barta 1981: 20). However, there is no proof that the same festival is involved, let alone that it was celebrated with the same frequency across a period of some two and a half centuries. Second, like Kaiser and Helck before him, Barta argued for a reconstruction of the annals based closely on the reign lengths given in the Turin Canon and Manetho (Barta 1981: 13–14). This reasoning produced some rather unlikely arguments. For example, Barta argued that the reigns of Semerkhet and Ninetjer, as preserved in the annals, proved the accuracy of the later sources, even

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

though multiples of ten years had to be subtracted from Manetho's figures to achieve the correspondence. The discrepancy between the annals and the later king lists in the matter of the late Second Dynasty is blamed on the internal divisions within Egypt at this time, giving rise to different historiographical traditions (Barta 1981: 15), rather than on the inconsistency and unreliability of the records themselves. Barta's analysis was based upon a naïve faith in the authenticity and accuracy of the later sources, and the belief that the annals belong to the same historiographical tradition. Both points are questionable.

INTERPRETING THE ANNALS

Original context and purpose of the annals

The annals are likely to have been compiled from archive material kept at the royal residence or in a major temple. The similarity of some of the surviving First Dynasty year labels with certain entries in the royal annals suggests that year labels were an important source. Yet, as Sethe (1903: 70) noted, the abbreviated entries in r.II and r.III do not match the level of detail on some First Dynasty year labels. Hence, the entries for the first two dynasties probably represent, at most, excerpts from the original records of this period. Sethe concluded that the intention of those who compiled the annals was never to give a complete record of the early dynasties, but rather a simplified chronological table. For example, no events are given for a king's final, incomplete year, only the number of months and days completed before the change of reign. Contemporary annals, by comparison, must have included information about the events celebrated in such years (Sethe 1903: 70 n. 2).

Because the height of the annual inundation is so assiduously recorded for most of the years in the annals, Lacau argued that this was in fact the main purpose of the stone. He suggested that a similar monument would have been set up wherever there was an official Nilometer (quoted in Gauthier 1915: 50). There is no doubt that the level of the Nile inundation was an important statistic which

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

the court would have been keen to record for fiscal purposes, to calculate the tax payable on agricultural land (cf. Clagett 1989: 109 n. 14). Yet it is unlikely that this information would have been recorded on stone in the first instance. More probable is that the readings would have been copied onto a monumental inscription for official display. The Nile height reading occupies only a small portion of each compartment in the annals, a fact which argues against Lacau's theory.

In the interpretation and reconstruction of the annals, the other king lists to have survived from ancient Egypt have always played an important role. These king lists fall into two categories. First, there are the monumental, stone-cut inscriptions, like the Karnak, Abydos and Saqqara king lists. Erected either in a temple (Karnak and Abydos) or a tomb (Saqqara), these lists were intended to survive for eternity — hence the use of stone as a durable material — and to perpetuate an ideal view of kingship; in particular, they were intended to honour those past kings who were seen as legitimate. Second, there are the king lists that were compiled for archival or historical purposes, with a view to completeness. The principal example of such a list is the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus known as the Turin Canon. Its very material — more portable and easier to store in an archive than stone — indicates that its purpose was very different from that of the stone-cut king lists. Indeed, the Turin Canon seems to represent a conscious attempt by the Egyptians to compile a complete list of past rulers, even including the 'illegitimate' Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty. The other king list which may be assigned to the 'archival' category is the one compiled by the Egyptian priest Manetho in the third century BC, preserved in secondary accounts by Classical authors. Since we cannot be sure for what purpose Manetho drew up his list, it is difficult to comment on its objectivity and reliability; but it seems to have aimed at completeness, and it was probably originally recorded in archive form, on papyrus.

The original location in which the annals were displayed is far from clear (cf. Petrie 1916: 120). Yet, the intended context of the monument will have had a decisive impact on its composition and content. When examining the surviving

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

fragments of the annals, their material (stone) should alert us at once. Bearing in mind the location of later, similar monuments, such as the Karnak and Abydos king lists, it seems most probable that the annals were compiled for display in a temple context (Roccati 1982: 36). If so, we cannot assume that the list of kings included in the original was comprehensive. Prior to the creation of the Turin Canon in the Nineteenth Dynasty, there is little evidence that the Egyptians regarded the recording of history as an objective exercise. Lists of kings were compiled for religious and political reasons: to honour the cults of revered ancestors and to stress the legitimacy of the reigning king as latest in a long line of rulers stretching back in an unbroken succession to the time of the gods. The mythical kings of Egypt before the beginning of the First Dynasty, listed on the topmost register of the annals, correspond to this view of history, a view given later expression in Manetho's demi-gods and 'followers of Horus'. The top register of the annals probably indicates that they were not intended as a factual historical record but, rather, as an enumeration of the deeds of illustrious ancestors. The annals were very probably intended for a temple setting, perhaps as part of an ancestor cult (like the Karnak king list of Thutmose III and the king list in the temple of Seti I at Abydos). This should dispel at once any ideas of accuracy, completeness or reliability — of historicity.

If the annals can be used as a source for reconstructing the early history of Egypt, it is in spite of the purpose for which they were compiled, not because of it.

The annals as an historical source

Since their initial publication, the annals have been used as a source for writing the history of early Egypt. On the face of it, they seem to offer a near-contemporary record of events from the reigns of Egypt's early kings. However, on closer examination, it becomes apparent that the events recorded in the annals are not those of particular interest to modern historians (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 64–6). Few, if any, 'political' events are recorded. Rather, for the most part, the

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

entries list the rituals and ceremonies which were considered ideologically necessary for the king to perform, such as the ‘following of Horus’ (royal progress), the creation and dedication of new cult images, the foundation of temples, and occasional royal visits to important cult centres (cf. Malek 1986: 31). Such activities reflected an ideal view of kingship: the view that the royal court wished to promulgate and perpetuate on ceremonial stone inscriptions like the annals. Although a firm believer in the potential of the annals to reconstruct the history of the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom, Gardiner (1961: 63–4) nevertheless alluded to the *parti pris* of the annals: ‘had we been fortunate enough to possess the entire chronicle intact, its inscriptions would have taught us *as much about the achievements of the past as the Pharaohs of Dyn. V wished posterity to learn*’ (author’s emphasis).

The surviving First Dynasty year labels confirm that events of this nature were indeed used to identify particular years of a king’s reign. Once again, the year labels reflect the pre-occupations of the royal court that created them. However, the events chosen to identify a year — on a year label or in the annals — may not have been real events at all. Year labels were primarily artefacts of administration. They served to identify a particular year in order to date the commodity to which the label was attached. Before the advent of a regular dating system (such as the biennial cattle count or regnal years), each year was named after one or more important events. However, if the practicalities of such a system are considered for a moment, it becomes apparent that the event(s) chosen must have been selected at the beginning of the year to which it (they) would refer; otherwise, commodities processed during the course of the year could not have been appropriately labelled. If the eponymous events were selected at the outset of the year, they must, of necessity, have been pre-planned: either events which were scheduled (and hence expected) to take place in the forthcoming twelve months (such as the foundation of a new temple or a royal visit); or symbolic events chosen for their ideological suitability rather than for any basis in fact (such as the ritual smiting of foreign enemies, which the king was expected to undertake in his role as defender of Egypt and champion of created order). Hence,

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

it is impossible to tell whether any of the events recorded in the annals actually took place. They reflect an ideal view of royal rule, rather than an objective historical account. This presents a huge obstacle to using the annals (and year labels) as an historical source. Year labels and the First Dynasty annals which may have been based upon them cannot be used as objective sources of history. Yet, they are just as interesting and informative for what they tell us about the priorities of the court and the ideology of early kingship (Wilkinson 1999: 219–20).

In the Second Dynasty, the naming of years after particular events was apparently replaced by a dating system based upon a regular census of the country's wealth (*tnwt*). This new system, whereby a census took place in alternate years, is attested in inscriptions of the Second Dynasty, as well as in the corresponding registers of the annals. In the annals of the Second to Fifth Dynasties, the census is variously described as a general census, a census of mineral and agricultural wealth, or a census of cattle. It is safe to assume that a regular census was necessary to allow the government to assess taxation, plan the buffer stocks of grain, and keep a tight check on Egypt's agricultural production. However, it cannot be established beyond doubt that such a census actually took place every two years. The naming of alternate years in this way may simply have been an administrative convenience employed for the purposes of dating; alternatively, the regularity of the census in the annals may reflect an attempt by the compilers to fill the gaps in their source material.

From the introduction of the census onwards, it might be argued that the accompanying events recorded in the annals should be given greater credibility. After all, now that years were numbered according to a regular administrative practice, the events deemed worthy of mention in the annals may have been actual occurrences. This is a possibility, but the cultural context and original purpose of the annals should still be borne in mind. Erected in a cultic setting, the annals were designed to promote an ideal view of kingship. Hence, the events recorded are those which stress the proper duties of the king, in relation to the gods and the preservation of created order. The reigns of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties are

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

characterised by a greatly increased level of detail; yet the events recorded are still those which reflect the king's role. Pious donations to temples, construction works, and victorious campaigns against the enemies of Egypt: these are the stuff of the Old Kingdom annals. They may be no more objective, no more factual, than the events named on year labels and in the annals of the First Dynasty. The ancient Egyptians were adept at giving mythical or symbolic events the appearance of historical reality. For example, the ceremonial macehead of Narmer (Quibell 1900: pl. XXVIB), from the very threshold of Egyptian history, records quantities of captured booty with a level of detail that suggests factual accuracy. Yet the figures given are so large as to be extremely unlikely for a border skirmish at such an early period. Likewise, the numbers of defeated captives recorded on the base of two statues of Khasekhem (Quibell 1900: pl. XL), from the end of the Second Dynasty, seem realistic but may be entirely fictitious.

Of crucial importance for any study of the early royal annals is the question of how to interpret ancient texts, particularly monumental, stone-cut inscriptions from ancient Egypt. As we have seen, the scholars who have studied the annals have, for the most part, taken a literalist approach: they have interpreted the information contained in the annals at face value, as though it were an accurate, objective record of historical fact. Such an approach takes no account of the particular cultural context of the annals. It ignores the ideological purposes for which Egyptian monumental inscriptions were created. Moreover, it is completely at odds with the modern scholarly approach to ancient texts in general, an approach which rejects literal interpretations as naïve. In common with most ancient texts, and with all monumental texts from ancient Egypt, the annals deserve a more enlightened, more sophisticated analysis. Such an analysis must take full account of the annals' cultural background, the purpose for which they were compiled, and the context in which they were displayed. Only then can the significance of the annals as a source for understanding early Egypt be fully appreciated.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The annals as a source for early élite culture

Whilst a contextual interpretation of the annals effectively rules out their use as an objective historical source, they may be used profitably to illuminate the court culture which created them. The annals shed light on two areas in particular: religion and the ideology of divine kingship.

Kingship

The ideology of divine kingship was formulated, refined and promulgated as an effective pattern of rule by Egypt's early sovereigns. Fundamental to this ideology were the multiple roles which the king performed. On a temporal level, he was at once absolute territorial ruler, head of state, ultimate judicial authority, and head of the government. On a spiritual level, the king was the channel of communication between the divine and human spheres, theoretical high priest of every cult, and the earthly incarnation of the supreme celestial deity, the sky-god Horus. It was the king's duty to maintain the ship of state on a steady course and to facilitate the workings of government, but equally to honour the cults of Egypt's multifarious deities and defend Egypt (actually and symbolically) against the forces of chaos. His role therefore embraced both earthly and cosmic concerns; the rituals in which the king participated were designed to accomplish all these tasks and, just as important, to portray him and his office in as favourable and awe-inspiring a light as possible.

The entries in the (royal) annals indicate the principal activities (actual or symbolic) in which the king engaged, moreover those which the court deemed worthy of record in a setting which would promote the ideology of divine kingship for eternity. Thus, the annals are a particularly informative source for how the royal court of the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom viewed its own role.

The royal activities recorded in the annals fall into a number of categories, reflecting the king's multiple roles (Wilkinson 1999: 219–20). First, there are the

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

activities connected with the administration of government. One of the most frequently attested activities is the biennial ‘following of Horus’ (*šms-Ḥr*). This was a royal progress during which the king, accompanied by his court, would travel throughout the country, presenting himself to the people, keeping a tight rein on economic and political developments in the provinces, and perhaps adjudicating on important judicial and civil matters. A more explicit way to assess the tax payable by each district was the biennial census of the country’s wealth (*tnwt*). At first this may have been restricted to collecting agricultural data, but it seems to have been widened to include mineral resources and perhaps even people (in the manner of the Domesday Book compiled under William the Conqueror in late eleventh century England).

Second, there are the ritual activities in which the king participated, on the one hand to manifest his own powers to his subjects, and on the other symbolically to defeat the forces of chaos. The ceremonies connected with the accession and coronation of the king were clearly designed to emphasise the essential tenets of kingship ideology (Wilkinson 1999: 209–12). One of these held that the king was the sole source of unity binding together the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt. Hence the ritual re-unification of the Two Lands (*sm3 šm^c+T3-mḥw*) was the most characteristic element of the accession and coronation celebrations. The ritual appearance of the monarch as dual king (*ḥ^c(t)-nswt-bỉtỉ*) was no doubt intended to display his might and majesty to the court and perhaps the wider populace. Finally, by striding around the walls (*pḥr ḥ3 ỉnb(w)*) of the capital (the royal residence and seat of government), the king asserted his supreme territorial and political authority. By presenting the king as the defender, not only of Egypt, but also of created order, the official ideology virtually guaranteed support and respect for the office of kingship, and adherence to the established pattern of royal government. The forces of chaos could be embodied in fierce wild animals, such as the hippopotamus. Hence, a royal ritual attested in the First Dynasty seems to have involved the king spearing a hippo as a symbol of his triumph against disorder (Wilkinson 1999: 216–17).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Additionally, and more usefully for the political purposes of the court, the forces of chaos were also represented in official iconography as Egypt's foreign neighbours. One of the first actions of the early Egyptian state seems to have been the demarcation of political and ideological boundaries. These served to separate Egypt from its neighbours, and to reinforce the message that these neighbours were a threat to Egypt and the Egyptian way of life. The ideological construct of a 'collective self' required the counterpart of a 'collective other'. Hence, monuments such as the Narmer palette defined Egyptian-ness and the role of the king primarily in terms of the subjugation of Egypt's neighbours/enemies. Campaigns against foreign peoples figure frequently in the iconography of early kingship and in the annals (Wilkinson 1999: 223). The nature of the annals and the practicalities of naming each year after one or more eponymous events suggest that such campaigns were either pre-planned or, more likely, of an entirely ritual nature. The important point was the message that such royal activities conveyed: the omnipotence of the king against any threat (external and, perhaps by implication, internal as well) to the Egyptian state. The triumph of the king was assured because of the divine favour bestowed by the gods on him and his realm. Of course, actual campaigns may well have been mounted by Egypt's early kings against troublesome or hostile neighbouring peoples. The attack against Nubia (*ḥwī? Nḥs*) recorded in the annals of Sneferu may allude to an actual campaign; but, given the ideological smoke-screen which the court erected to mask the messy reality of such activities, it is impossible to tell whether this and other instances refer to real or ritual events. Since the outcome of real conflicts would have been impossible to predict in advance, it seems highly unlikely that such events would have figured prominently in the royal annals. The conclusion must remain that events like the 'smiting of the bowmen' (*sqr ḲwntḲw*) or the 'hacking up of Shem-Ra and Ha' represent royal propaganda: they reflect the ideological concerns of the court but do not record actual historical events (even if events of a similar nature took place). In a similar way, the 'tribute' from Punt recorded in the annals of Sahura probably represents the outcome of a trading expedition; but ideology demanded that all such goods from

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

foreign lands be portrayed as ‘tribute’ from subjugated peoples to the king of Egypt.

Third, the annals record the activities undertaken by the king in his religious role. In order to honour Egypt’s major cults and ensure the continued benevolence of the gods, the king carried out four different types of activity: dedicating new divine images (and bringing them to life by the ceremony of ‘opening the mouth’); endowing cults with land and material wealth; founding or embellishing temples; and visiting important cult centres. The dedication (*mst*) of divine images is one of the most common categories of event recorded in the annals, and it emphasises the ideological importance of the king’s role as interlocutor between divine and human spheres. Occasional finds have suggested that divine images may have been made of precious metals (Quibell 1900: pl. XLI (right)), and the annals seem to confirm this (PS v.IV.1). The king himself was also the focus of a cult during his lifetime, and many of the royal statues to have survived from ancient Egypt probably served a cultic purpose; the annals record the creation of such statues in the Second Dynasty (PS r.V.4) and again in the Fifth (CF1 v.III.1).

In the annals of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, most entries begin with the standard formula ‘he made as his endowment for’ (*ʔr.n.f m mnw.f n*), followed by the names of deities and details of the endowments. By making regular benefactions to the cults of important deities — usually the deities closely associated with kingship, particularly Ra, Hathor, Horus, and the ‘Two Ladies’ Nekhbet and Wadjet — the king ensured continued divine favour. This contract between the king (on behalf of his subjects) and the gods stood at the heart of kingship ideology; it no doubt served to ensure popular support for the institution of monarchy, and acceptance of the economic and political demands made by the court. Many of the endowments recorded in the Fifth Dynasty annals were destined for the king’s own foundations, his pyramid temple and solar temple. Such gifts highlight the essential self-interest of the court. Economic activity, as much as the ideology of kingship, was primarily self-serving, designed to meet the requirements of the court. Any benefit to the population as a whole was only

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

incidental, or intended to foster public acceptance. The references to temple building in the annals demonstrate a similarly self-centred concern. Most of the institutions mentioned (e.g. *smr-ntrw*, *swt-ntrw*, *qbh-ntrw*) are probably to be identified as royal mortuary temples; and even those provincial cult-centres embellished and/or visited by the king are likely to have had a close connection with the ideology of kingship.

Religion

As well as shedding light on the nature of early kingship and the priorities of the royal court, the events of a religious nature recorded in the annals — such as the dedication of divine images — also comprise one of the richest sources of evidence for early Egyptian religious beliefs and practices (cf. Bayer 1925). Of course, as a product of the royal court, the annals record only those aspects of religion which were of concern to the king and his circle. Nothing in the annals helps to illuminate the religion of the general populace; nor should we expect such information. But the annals do indicate which cults were prominent enough to receive royal patronage. In some cases, references in the annals confirm the archaeological evidence for the importance of certain deities (for example Mafdet and Sopdu). In the case of the goddess Iat (or Iamet, the reading being doubtful), the reference in the annals constitutes the sole evidence for the antiquity of her cult (Wilkinson 1999: 289).

The annals also record the existence of important religious buildings, for example, the *per-wer*, *per-nu*, and *senut(i)*-shrine. Even if the precise nature of these shrines, and their relationship one to another, remain poorly understood, it is clear that early Egyptian state religion was already marked by a highly symbolic architectural vocabulary, a feature found throughout the pharaonic period.

Religious festivals, some of them periodic, likewise figure prominently in the annals. A festival which may be interpreted as the Sokar-festival is attested as early as the First Dynasty. Although the significance of events like the *Djet*, *Deshet* and *Dua-Hor-pet* festivals remains totally obscure, the comparative

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

frequency with which festivals are mentioned in the annals indicates that they formed an important part of religious observance in early Egypt (Wilkinson 1999: 301–2).

Reconstructing the annals: problems

As we have seen, various scholars have proposed widely differing reconstructions of the presumed original annals stone (from which the majority is now missing) (cf. Cenival 1965: 17). Each reconstruction is predicated on a set of assumptions (Edgerton 1937: 197 n. 23), some of which depend upon the individual scholar's particular beliefs about the chronology of the Early Dynastic period. As a recent commentator has observed of the various reconstructions, 'none ... is entirely convincing, for they are all based in some significant degree on unproved and implausible assumptions' (Clagett 1989: 47).

There seems to be a general consensus that the missing piece of the annals separating PS and CF1 was not large. By comparing the entries on the verso of the two pieces, Gauthier swiftly established that CF1 lay to the right of PS, as viewed on the verso (Gauthier 1915: 32). The years of Userkaf and Sahura recorded on the verso of the two main fragments established that the missing section was only the width of a single Fifth Dynasty year compartment (Gauthier 1915: 36). The verso of CF1 records Userkaf's 'year of the second census'; his 'year of the third census' appears on the verso of PS. Similarly, the verso of CF1 records Sahura's 'year after the first census'; his 'year after the second census' is recorded on the verso of PS. Although, in each case, the missing section of the annals must have recorded the intervening year, it is by no means clear how wide that section will have been, since a complete Fifth Dynasty compartment is preserved in only one case (Userkaf's 'year of the third census' on PS), where it measures 51 mm in width. Hence, different reconstructions have been based on slightly different widths for the intervening, missing portion of the annals.

The slight variation in width between compartments of a single register has been commented upon by various scholars (Kaiser 1961: 47; Barta 1981: 17). The

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

only reason for this can have been that the compilers wished to fit a precise number of compartments into each register. As they neared the end of a register, the engravers adjusted the compartment width very slightly in order to accommodate a predetermined number of year records. This consideration makes it unlikely that any reign of the first three dynasties spanned more than one register. So, at least for r.II–V, the beginning and end of each register very probably correspond to the beginning and end of a reign (Kaiser 1961: 47). Unfortunately, the variation in width between compartments within a register makes it virtually impossible to reconstruct the complete annals based upon precise measurements of the surviving fragments (Kaiser 1961: 42). Moreover, the lower part of CF1 recto is so abraded that the width of the compartments in r. VI–VII cannot be accurately determined (cf. Krauss 1996: 46). This presents a serious obstacle to reconstructing the annals as a whole.

All reconstructions (with the exception of Petrie's (1916)) have assumed that the annals began (on the recto) with the reign of Aha. Most German scholars (including Kaiser and Barta) identify Aha as the Menes of later king lists, in other words the first king of the First Dynasty. But the recently discovered necropolis sealings of Den and Qaa (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 3.1) strongly suggest that Narmer was regarded by his immediate successors as the first ruler of the First Dynasty, and there are sound epigraphic and historical reasons for identifying Narmer as Menes. Whoever is to be regarded as the first king of the First Dynasty, it has been argued that the annals nevertheless began with the reign of Aha, since that marked the beginning of the practice of annals keeping (Kaiser 1961: 53; Malek 1986: 31). That may be true, but the recent discovery of a year label of Narmer (Dreyer *et al.* 1998: 139 fig. 29, pl. 5.c) may indicate that annals keeping began in Narmer's reign (Clagett 1989: 99 n. 5; cf. Dreyer *et al.* 1998: 139). Year labels and annals are two closely related groups of records, and the first may have been used to compile the second. The truth is, we cannot establish beyond doubt with which reign, Narmer's or Aha's, the original annals stone began. It must have depended as much upon the records available to the compilers of the annals as upon the Egyptians' own view of their history. Any reconstruction of the annals

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

will be affected considerably by the king chosen as the first in the sequence. The absence of that piece of the puzzle effectively renders all reconstructions hypothetical and speculative.

If it is impossible to reconstruct the beginning of the recto, it seems equally impossible to put forward a convincing suggestion of how the recto of the original stone may have been set out towards its left-hand end. Whether the reign of Djet came at the end of r.II or at the beginning of r.III very much depends upon the arrangement of r.III and hence upon how long a reign Qaa enjoyed. The monuments and inscriptions from the end of the First Dynasty suggest that Qaa was on the throne for some time, but again we cannot be certain. As far as r.IV and r.V are concerned, there are two major, insoluble questions, which make any reconstruction an act of faith. First, it is impossible to establish which Second Dynasty kings the annals included after the reign of Ninetjer. The sequence of kings in the middle of the Second Dynasty is still far from secure, and there may have been kings ruling concurrently in the north and south of the country. We do not know whether the compilers of the royal annals regarded all the kings of the Second Dynasty as legitimate, or whether they would have wished to gloss over the apparent hiatus between the death of Ninetjer and the reign of Peribsen (a hiatus marked by an absence of attributable royal tombs). Between Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy, last king of the Second Dynasty, the Abydos king list names two ephemeral rulers, Wadjnes and Sendi; they are probably to be equated with the Weneg and Sened attested in contemporary or near-contemporary inscriptions. The Saqqara king list and Turin Canon add another three shadowy rulers after these two, Neferka, Neferkaseker, and Hudjefa (the last name probably representing a gap in the records from which the lists were compiled). Some reconstructions of the annals have preferred to use the Turin Canon as a template; others have followed the shorter Abydos king list; yet others have used a combination of the two sources. Given that, unlike all the later king lists, the annals correctly record the archaeologically-attested names of at least two Second Dynasty kings (Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy), it is quite likely that they were equally accurate when it came to the obscure rulers in the middle of the dynasty.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The inclusion of Weneg (Wadjnes) and Sened (Sendi) in the Abydos king list suggests that these rulers were significant enough to be included in a list compiled for religious reasons. Indeed, they also appear in the Saqqara king list, which omits the kings of the First Dynasty before Anedjib. Conversely, however, there is evidence that the annals jump straight from Ninetjer to Peribsen, omitting the ephemeral rulers Weneg and Sened altogether. The four legged (Seth?) animal atop the *serekh* of the second king in CF r.IV (who follows Ninetjer directly) suggests that this king should be Peribsen. Yet the position of the titulary indicates a very short reign, perhaps 10 years. We cannot establish whether this figure is historically accurate; even if it were, it seems a very short period of time for Peribsen to have constructed his tomb and funerary enclosure at Abydos. Another possibility is that the king in question is Weneg or Sened. Both kings seem to have reigned for short periods, to judge from the paucity of contemporary inscriptions. We do not know their primary names, so it is perfectly possible that one or both adopted a Seth name rather than the more usual Horus name. Unfortunately, all these questions remain insoluble, at least at present; and they provide insurmountable obstacles to a convincing reconstruction of the annals.

For the Third Dynasty, the annals may have followed what seems to have been the correct, historical order of kings (as indicated by archaeology), with Netjerikhet succeeding Khasekhemwy. Alternatively, they may have promoted the (erroneous) order preserved in other king lists (such as the Abydos king list and the Turin Canon), with a king Nebka intervening between Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet/Djoser. It is, quite simply, impossible to decide, and whichever answer is adopted will profoundly affect the reconstruction of the annals as a whole.

The problems are equally insurmountable when it comes to the lowest registers of the recto. The entries in PS r.VI name the seventh and the eighth census of Sneferu. Therefore, the beginning of Sneferu's reign must have lain some distance to the right. Unfortunately, the variable width of the compartments (even within a single register) and the uncertainty over the frequency of the census in the Fourth Dynasty (either every two years or annual) make it difficult,

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

if not impossible, to determine the beginning of Sneferu's reign with any certainty (Kaiser 1961: 47).

The verso of the annals virtually defies reconstruction altogether; it is especially difficult to establish the left-hand side. Yet various suggested reconstructions have been proposed (Kaiser 1961: 50–1 figs. 1–3). The verso is generally assumed to have comprised the reigns of the remaining Fourth Dynasty kings after Djedefra and an uncertain number of Fifth Dynasty rulers (Kaiser 1961: 47). Barta (1981: 23) speculated that summary totals for the First to Fourth Dynasties may have been given in the final register of the annals; and that the records ended either with the reign of Neferefra or part way through the following reign of Niuserra. Neither of these suggestions can be proven.

Compatibility with later king lists

Most of the scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the original appearance of the annals have relied heavily on two, much later lists of kings: the Turin Canon and the list by Manetho preserved in secondary sources. Being the fullest king lists from ancient Egypt, these two sources are generally assumed to be the most accurate and most reliable. Whilst the Turin Canon, an archive list compiled on papyrus, may well have aimed at historical completeness, the accuracy of Manetho's list may be seriously doubted. This was recognised by Gauthier (1915: 38) who wrote: *“il me paraît maintenant impossible ... d'attacher aucune espèce de valeur pour cette période de l'histoire aux chiffres de Manéthon, car ni lui ni ses contemporains ne devaient avoir à ce sujet de donnée certaine”*. More recently, Krauss (1996: 43) has referred to 'the corrupt condition of the Manethonian tradition', and has seriously doubted the accuracy of the reign lengths it preserves. Indeed, there is not even agreement between the different versions of Manetho's text transmitted by Classical authors. Archaeology has revealed much of Manetho's history to be erroneous (for example, Africanus' figure of 39 years for the reign of Sneferu), and there is no reason to place any

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

greater faith in his list of Early Dynastic kings. In short, to use Manetho as a source for reconstructing the annals is methodologically unjustifiable.

The same is probably true, though to a lesser extent, of the Turin Canon. The list is likely to have been influenced by the quality and quantity of records available in the temple archives from which it was compiled. Even at a remove of a thousand years, it seems unlikely that the sources would have included accurate reign lengths for all of Egypt's earliest kings. Whilst the Turin Canon may be considered more accurate than Manetho, it seems to have replicated mistakes found in other New Kingdom king lists, notably the placement of a king Nebka (given a reign of 19 years) between Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet; the archaeology of the Second–Third Dynasty transition makes such an intervening reign impossible. Moreover, the 24 years which the Turin Canon allots to Sneferu, long thought to be an accurate figure, has been conclusively disproven by recent discoveries (Stadelmann 1986; Krauss 1996: 43–4). This totally undermines the reliability of the Turin Canon as a source for the Old Kingdom and Early Dynastic period.

Hence, it seems unwise to base reconstructions of the annals upon information contained in the Turin Canon and/or Manetho. We cannot be sure that the annals followed the same historiographical tradition as the later Ramesside king lists; and there are considerable differences between the Turin Canon and Manetho regarding the number and order of kings in the first three dynasties. Moreover, despite the valiant attempts of various scholars, there is no consistent method which can explain the differences in reign lengths between any proposed reconstruction of the annals and the later king lists. The inescapable conclusion must be that the Turin Canon and Manetho are not reliable sources for reconstructing the annals, even if all three texts stem from the same or similar historiographical traditions. In short, any attempted reconstruction of the annals should be based solely upon the internal evidence of the fragments themselves, without reference to external sources for the early history of Egypt. This effectively limits the amount that can be deduced about the original content and composition of the royal annals.

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

Reconstructing the annals: possibilities

It seems highly unlikely that a definitive, or even plausible reconstruction of the annals will ever be possible, infuriating as that may be. Nevertheless, there are certain elements of a reconstruction about which we may be relatively confident, and these afford us a limited amount of information.

There is every reason to doubt the accuracy and completeness of the original records from which the annals were compiled (cf. O'Mara 1979, 1980); and it has been argued that, in the absence of comprehensive data, 'the annalists fell back upon natural periods based upon celestial phenomena' (O'Mara 1980: 93–5). Where records for a particular reign were lacking or deficient, or where the dictates of the composition required, the length of a reign may have been adjusted or simply invented. However, although the annals were surely composed for ideological reasons, we may suppose that the compilers used the information at their disposal as fully as possible. The form of the annals — with a compartment for each year of a king's reign, and no attempt to fit each reign into a uniform space — suggests that the compilers aimed at some degree of accuracy.

If we reject the most pessimistic view of the annals and their source material, and accept that the reign lengths, as recorded, may bear some relation to historical fact, then there are various clues to reign length in the annals which may be utilised. (It is, of course, impossible to establish which reigns benefited from the preservation of accurate information and accurate recording.) For example, it is generally accepted that a king's titulary was placed over the centre of the compartments comprising his reign. Although no complete titulary is preserved on PS, the width of an average titulary in terms of the number of compartments it spanned can be guessed with some degree of accuracy. This number varies according to the register, since the compartments in r.IV are narrower than those in r.III and r.V, which in turn are narrower than the compartments in r.II. Calculations of the space occupied by a complete titulary are very dependent upon CF1, where two complete titularies are preserved. Without CF1, the approximations for the width of a titulary on PS would be much more inexact.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

However, we might guess that on PS a titulary would have spanned six compartments of r.II, seven or eight compartments of r.III, eight of r.IV and seven or eight of the r.V. (Schäfer (1902: 18) had assumed a width of five compartments for a complete titulary.) CF1 provides us with complete titularies for r.II (spanning seven compartments) and r.III (spanning six and a half compartments). By looking at the placement (if present) or absence of a titulary over each reign on PS, minimum reign lengths can be deduced, even without reference to CF1.

PS r.II: first king: $2+6+2$ (i.e. 10) years; second king: $9+6+9$ (i.e. 24) years

PS r.III: king: $13+7+13$ (i.e. 33) years

Using the information derived from CF1, the first two figures can be adjusted.

PS r.II: first king: $2+7+2$ (i.e. 11) years; second king: $9+7+9$ (i.e. 25) years

Moreover, if the second king on PS r.II is Djer (the king on CF1 r.II), then the minimum reign length may be determined with even greater accuracy.

PS r.II: second king: $11+7+11$ (i.e. 29) years

Another clue to reign lengths, for kings in r.IV and r.V, is the numbering of the census carried out in a particular year. We know that the census number increased by one every two years. The only uncertainty is over whether the first census was carried out in the king's first or second year. It seems more likely that the first occasion of the census coincided with the king's second year, since the first year would have been marked (and denoted) by the ceremonies accompanying the accession and coronation. Taking this information into account, plus the placement or absence of a titulary, minimum reign lengths can be deduced for the kings of r.IV and r.V, even without reference to CF1.

PS r.IV: Ninetjer: $16+8+16$ (i.e. 40) years

PS r.V: first king: $17\frac{1}{2}$ years (this figure is certain, since the last year is recorded); second king: $5+7+5$ (i.e. 17) years

Looking now at CF1 in isolation, certain minimum reign lengths can also be deduced.

CF1 r.II: Djer: $2+7+2$ (i.e. 11) years

CF1 r.III: first king: $1+7+1$ (i.e. 9) years; Semerkhet: $8\frac{1}{2}$ years (this figure is certain, since the entire reign is recorded); third king: $1+7+1$ (i.e. 9) years

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

CF1 r.IV: first king: 8+8+8 (i.e. 24) years; second king: 2+8+2 (i.e. 12) years

CF1 r.V: first king: 10+7+10 (i.e. 27) years; second king: 7 years (this figure is fairly certain, since the titulary begins immediately after the dividing line marking the change of reign)

This bare, chronological information may be combined with evidence for the identity of the kings in question. For example, there are good reasons for equating the second king in PS r.II with Djer, the king in the corresponding register of CF1. There are equally good reasons for believing that the first king in CF1 r.IV is Ninetjer, the king in the corresponding register of PS. (No other king of the mid-Second Dynasty is likely to have reigned long enough to fit any proposed reconstruction.) Calculations based upon the placement of royal titularies, and chronological information contained within the annals entries, suggest that the missing portion between PS and CF1 comprised seven compartments in r.II, ten in r.III (including the whole of the reign of Anedjib), eleven in r.IV (the latter part of Ninetjer's reign), and nine in r.V (including the titulary of a king). Taking all these data into account, reign lengths for certain kings may be proposed as follows:

Djer	41 complete or partial years;
Den	32 complete or partial years;
Anedjib	10 complete or partial years;
Ninetjer	40 complete or partial years;
Netjerikhet	28 complete or partial years.

(Appendix 2 shows the varying reign lengths suggested by previous scholars of the annals.) There is at least one obvious difficulty with these estimates: according to contemporary, First Dynasty inscriptions, Anedjib celebrated a Sed-festival, something which did not normally take place until a king had been on the throne for some considerable time. It may be that Anedjib was elderly when he succeeded Den, and that the celebration of a Sed-festival was considered auspicious to renew the powers of a king past his prime. We know that other

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

kings celebrated a Sed-festival far in advance of their thirtieth year on the throne, but as far as Anedjib is concerned, it must remain speculation.

In summary, from the internal evidence of the annals, the following reign lengths (complete or partial years) may be suggested for kings of the first three dynasties: Djer (41), Den (32), Anedjib (10), Semerkhet (9), Ninetjer (40), Khasekhemwy (18), Netjerikhet (28), Sekhemkhet (7).

Conclusion

Without recourse to later king lists — which cannot be used reliably to inform any analysis of the early royal annals — the possibilities of reconstruction are very limited. Moreover, given the original context and purpose of the annals, an entirely accurate reconstruction of the original monument — were such a feat possible — would only tell us how the ancient Egyptians, of the Fifth Dynasty or later, viewed their own past (cf. O'Mara 1980). It would not give us an accurate history of the Early Dynastic period, nor would it help to resolve the outstanding problems of early Egyptian chronology. Now, however, archaeology has come to the aid of history. While it undoubtedly remains the case that no 'purely objective chronology of early Egypt is possible' (O'Mara 1980: 93), recent advances have significantly enhanced our understanding of early Egyptian history. Discoveries at Abydos, in particular, have resolved the long-standing problems of the First–Second and Second–Third Dynasty successions. It has been conclusively demonstrated that Hetepsekhemwy helped to bury (and therefore directly succeeded) his predecessor Qaa; Netjerikhet performed the same duty for his immediate predecessor Khasekhemwy (Wilkinson 1999: 83 and 95, respectively). Archaeology has revealed more about the history of the early dynasties than any number of attempted reconstructions of the annals; and this trend may be expected to continue.

It is highly unlikely that the annals were ever intended as an objective historical record, and it is naïve to use them in this way. Where the annals do come into their own is as a source for early Egyptian élite culture. They provide

THE ROYAL ANNALS IN CONTEXT

invaluable evidence for the concerns of the royal court, the ideology of divine kingship, and aspects of early religion. Moreover, they present a vivid picture of the ancient Egyptians' own view of their past.

The annals afford us a rare opportunity to get into the mind of the élite which governed Egypt and created its distinctive culture. This is the true value of the early royal annals: as a window on the world of the ancient Egyptians.

PART II

**TRANSLITERATION,
TRANSLATION AND
COMMENTARY**

THE PALERMO STONE

Recto

The recto of the Palermo Stone preserves six registers to more-or-less their full height, together with the very top of a seventh register. Each register will be discussed in turn, accompanied by a full transliteration, translation and commentary of each constituent compartment.

First Register (Predynastic kings)

The rectangles in the first register, which contain the names and determinatives of Predynastic kings, were correctly interpreted by Spiegelberg (1897: 10) as a list of pre-Old Kingdom Lower Egyptian monarchs. However, in a later commentary, Naville (1903) suggested that they were the names of royal estates; but this explanation was in turn rejected by Gauthier (1915: 33) who argued that they were simply compartments for royal names. This last interpretation is now universally accepted.

There is no contemporary (i.e. Predynastic) evidence for any of the names. They may represent an oral tradition of mythical pre-First Dynasty kings (Helck 1956: 2), or may be entirely fictitious (O'Mara 1996: 203). The latter is perhaps the more likely, given that the determinatives wear the red crown, and there is no evidence for a separate kingdom of Lower Egypt having existed prior to the First Dynasty, even though this was the clear implication of the later Egyptian unification myth. Schäfer interpreted the kings wearing the red crown as Predynastic kings of Lower Egypt (according to the view of Egyptian prehistory widely held at the time), and argued that the corresponding kings of Upper Egypt were excluded because the annals were carved for a Lower Egyptian temple context (Schäfer 1902: 14). This hypothesis was rejected by Sethe (1903: 57) and Gauthier (1915: 31), who argued that the first register of the annals originally recorded Predynastic kings both of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt. Gauthier

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

(1915: 32) argued that the kings of Lower Egypt were placed before those of Upper Egypt in the first register as a reflection of the Lower Egyptian provenance of the annals.

PS r.I.1

...[p]w

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt ...pu

PS r.I.2

sk3

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Seka

PS r.I.3

h3i'w

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Khaiu

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.I.4

t²w

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Tiu

PS r.I.5

tš

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Tjesh

PS r.I.6

n-hb?

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Niheb?

PS r.I.7

w3d-^cd

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Wadj-adj

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.I.8

mh[t]

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt Mekhet

PS r.I.9

...3

(king in red crown)

The king of Lower Egypt ...a

PS r.I.10

...

[king]

The king ...

PS r.I.11

...

[king]

The king ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.I.12

...

[king]

The king ...

PS r.I.13

...

[king]

The king ...

Second Register (Aha?–Djer?)

The second register, especially the enumeration of months and days in two successive compartments (PS r.II.2 and r.II.3), provoked considerable debate among the early scholars of the annals (Read 1914–15 for a summary of the debate). Naville (1899: 113) interpreted the entries as dates, but failed to explain why, in three out of four comparable instances on PS, they occur in pairs (Read 1914–15: 284). A significant advance was made by Schäfer (1902) who argued that the first figure indicated a period of time (although he still interpreted the second figure as a date). The most plausible explanation of such entries was proposed by Jéquier (1906a). He was the first to realise that the enumerations represent periods of time (i.e. cardinal numbers), not dates (ordinal numbers). The first figure in a pair gave the portion of the calendar year that had elapsed at the death of the old king. The second figure gave the months and days of the same calendar year that belonged to the reign of the new king. Jéquier's interpretation was subsequently challenged (Hertz 1914), but also received decisive backing (Read 1914–15) and has now been almost universally accepted.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KINGS IN THE SECOND REGISTER

The second king in PS r.II apparently enjoyed a lengthy reign, since his titulary does not appear above the compartments corresponding to the first nine years of his reign. Given that a king's titulary seems to have been carved above the middle of the sequence of compartments comprising his reign, and that the titulary generally spanned the width of six or seven compartments, the second king of PS r.II must have reigned at least $9+6+9$ (i.e. 24) years. That would seem to exclude Djet, since other considerations point to his reign having been comparatively short (Wilkinson 1999: 73). It is certain that r.II corresponds to the early First Dynasty, so the second king must be identified as either Aha or Djer. The mention in PS r.II.7 of the building *smr-ntrw* seems decisive (cf. Borchardt 1917: 31), since stone vessels inscribed with the *serekh* of Djer and the name of the same building, *smr ntrw*, were among those found beneath the Step Pyramid of Netjerikhet at Saqqara (Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 1 nos 2, 3; pl. 2 nos 14, 4). The conclusion must be that the second king of PS r.II is Djer. Hence, his predecessor (whose last year and a half are preserved) must be identified as Aha.

PS r.II.1

šms-Ḥr mst [ʔInpw]

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Anubis

Aha's penultimate year

The damaged entry for this year seems to have recorded the ‘following of Horus’ (*šms-Ḥr*); from its occurrence in the first full year of the following reign, and its subsequent repetition every second year, it appears that the ‘following of Horus’ had already been instituted as a regular royal activity in the early First Dynasty. Despite a number of alternative interpretations (for example, Kees 1927; Kaiser 1960: 132), the ‘following of Horus’ is most likely to have been a journey

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

undertaken by the king or his officials at regular intervals for the purpose of tax-collection (Wilkinson 1999: 220–1).

The year is also denoted by the creation (*mst*) of a cult image of a canine deity, probably Anubis. Early scholars who studied the royal annals interpreted the combination of *mst* + the name of a deity as indicating a festival (this was also the interpretation favoured more recently by Claggett (1989: 48)). They had in mind well-known festivals such as the ‘Birth of Isis’ which took place annually on one of the five intercalary days. Gardiner seems to have been the first to point out that these ‘births’ were in fact ‘birthdays’, and took place only once a year. Citing the use of the term *mst* in the Fifth Register, where it clearly refers to the creation of a statue, Gardiner proposed that the other, frequent references to the ‘birth’ (*mst*) of a deity in the annals should be similarly interpreted as the ‘creation’ or ‘fashioning’ of cult statues. He noted the great importance that seems to have been attached to this kind of cultic activity in the Early Dynastic period (Gardiner 1945: 13 n. 2).

From his reconstruction of the annals, Daressy (1916: 165) suggested that the event of ‘creating (a cult image of) Anubis’ occurred at regular intervals of seven or eight years. Unlike many of Daressy’s theories, this has not found general acceptance. Nevertheless, the same event is mentioned several times in the annals (PS r.II.10; CF1 r.II.1, CF1 r.II.9, CF1 r.IV.1; CF5 r.U.2, CF5 r.U.4).

PS r.II.2

3bd 6 sw 7

6 months 7 days

Aha’s last year

The signs in the compartment indicate that Aha’s reign came to an end after only six months and seven days of the calendar year had elapsed.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

change of reign

PS r.II.3

*3bd 4 sw 13 sm3 Šm^c+T3-Mḥw phr ḥ3 ḏnb
mḥ 6*

4 months 13 days; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt; circumambulating the wall
6 cubits

Djer's first year

The signs at the top of the compartment indicate that Djer came to the throne when there were only four months and thirteen days left of the civil year. (Note that earlier commentators (e.g. Meyer in Sethe 1903: 73) had assumed that the enumeration of months and days at the beginning of a reign gave the date of accession, rather than the amount of the civil year left when the new king came to the throne.)

Both Jéquier (1906a) and Read (1914–15) noted early on that the numbers of months and days recorded in PS r.II.2 and r.II.3 do not add up to a whole year. The reign of the first king evidently came to an end after only 6 months and 7 days had elapsed of the civil year. Hence, the first compartment of the second king should record the remaining 5 months and 28 days; but, instead, the annals give only 4 months and 13 days. In other words, 1 month and 15 days are missing. Jéquier (1906a: 60–2) explained the discrepancy by suggesting that the new king only gained full power after the completion of his formal accession/coronation ceremonies. Hence, the ‘missing’ 45 days represented an interregnum before the new king legally assumed office. An alternative explanation is that the discrepancy represents nothing more than a scribal error or an error in the records from which the annals were compiled.

Another unusual feature of PS r.II.2 and r.II.3 which has provoked much comment is the fact that two periods of time each less than a full year are

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

recorded in two consecutive year compartments of full width. This gives the impression that ‘not only do we have a new reign to the left of the vertical line but also a new civil year’ (Clagett 1989: 108). When a change of reign occurred part way through a civil year, one would normally have expected the dividing line marking the reign change to run through the year compartment (as in PS r.V). However, in PS r.II, the reign division line is an extension of the usual line separating year compartments. This, combined with the fact that the two totals either side of the line do not add up to one year, has suggested to many scholars that the compilers of the annals may have intended to record something unusual at this point. One commentator suggested that the compartments of the first king in PS r.II represent regnal years, while those of his successors represent civil or calendar years (Weigall 1925: 59). Borchardt (1917; cf. Gardiner 1945: 12 n. 1) tentatively proposed that there was an interregnum between the death of Aha (when six months and seven days of the civil year had elapsed) and the accession of Djer (when there were four months and thirteen days left of the following civil year). In other words, a literal interpretation of the inscription might suggest an interregnum of thirteen months and twenty days separating the death of the first king and the accession of his successor (Gardiner 1945: 12 n. 1). This apparent interregnum has been attributed by some scholars to a king Athothis I (Helck 1956, 1974a; Kaiser 1961; Barta 1981), listed in Manetho (where he may be the same king as Aha) but unattested in contemporary records. On the basis of CF1 r.II, Djer has been plausibly identified as the Iti of the New Kingdom king lists (Helck 1956: 9). Those scholars who identify Menes of the king lists as Aha, rather than Narmer (e.g. Helck 1953), assume that the second king of the First Dynasty — according to the later king lists — was an ephemeral ruler who left no contemporary inscriptions. The apparent interregnum between the reigns of Aha and Djer is cited as evidence for the existence of such a ruler (Helck 1956: 9–10).

An alternative explanation is that the unusual nature of the annals at this point reflects nothing more than a deficiency in the records from which they were compiled, or a scribal error (Jéquier 1906a). Support for such an interpretation comes from the annals themselves, especially the regular occurrence of the

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

‘following of Horus’ (cf. Borchardt 1917: 32). It seems clear that, during the early First Dynasty (as during the Second), this event took place every other year. Since the last ‘following of Horus’ of Aha’s reign occurred in the king’s penultimate year (PS r.II.1), and the first ‘following of Horus’ of Djer’s reign in his second year (PS r.II.4), it is reasonable to assume that only a single calendar year separated the two (*contra* Sethe 1903: 72). In other words, the year in which the change of reign occurred fell between two ‘following of Horus’ years. Hence, the presentation of this single year as two full compartments (either side of a line indicating a change of reign) is probably erroneous. Moreover, the fact that no Nile height measurement is recorded in PS r.II.2 adds weight to the argument that PS r.II.2 and r.II.3 together record a single calendar year. Jéquier (1906a) was certain of this, and gave a very reasonable explanation of how the unusual presentation might have come about:

“the engraver began by marking out all the divisions, starting with the year-signs; he found that there was insufficient space in a single compartment [for the material to be recorded], and so made a clumsy correction by extending the vertical year-line [to act as a reign division] without being able to efface the characteristic curve [at the top of the year-sign]” (Jéquier 1906a: 59).

This eminently plausible suggestion does not, however, account for the ‘missing month’. Either this is due to a scribal error, or there may indeed have been a brief interregnum (of one month and fifteen days) between the reigns of Aha and Djer.

The standard coronation ceremonial seems to have involved three distinct components (Wilkinson 1999: 209–12): the formal appearance of the king (perhaps before the general populace but, more likely, before his closest officials); the ritual reunification of the Two Lands, emphasising the king’s role as unifier and mediator; and the ceremony of circumambulating the wall (*phr h3 inb*). This last ritual presumably took place at Memphis (whose ancient name was *inb-hd*, ‘white wall’). By walking around the wall of his capital, the king acted

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

‘not only to inspect it and to take possession of his residence, but primarily to renew land and people and stimulate divine life’ (Bleeker 1967: 92).

This is the first compartment to preserve a measurement in cubits (*mh*). (Later compartments also use the divisions of a cubit to give a precise measurement. These divisions are: the span (*š3?*), palm (*šsp*), and finger (*db*⁵.) The explanation of this and similar measurements in later compartments at first defied commentators. Naville (1899: 114) supposed that it referred in some obscure way to a period of time. However, by the time Schäfer (1902) published his edition of PS, it seems to have become generally accepted that the measurements recorded the height of the annual Nile inundation. Weigall (1925: 59) offered an ingenious explanation for the arrangement of the Nile height measurements on the annals, arguing that ‘the section at the bottom of each year-space represents the five epagomenal days, and originally the highest flood-level was reached within that period of five days, which explains why its record was written in that section’. However, this suggestion has not met with general acceptance.

The mean height of the Nile flood decreases steadily over the course of r.II to r.V. Jéquier (1906b) took this as an indication that the level of the inundation was measured *below* a fixed point; hence, the rising level of the floodplain would, over time, have resulted in decreasing measurements. Other commentators have argued that the Nile height was measured *above* a fixed zero-point, and that the figures represent true fluctuations in the level of the inundation (Clagett 1989: 109–13 for a summary of the debate). Less plausibly, the measurements may have been taken from a zero-point that rose with the rising level of the alluvium (Bell 1970: 569). The full range of heights preserved in the annals has been discussed by Helck (1966) and Bell (1970), both of whom accept their general validity. Note, however, that one scholar has dismissed the height measurements as ‘fictional elements that cannot possibly have any claim to historical realism’ (O’Mara 1996: 201). This argument is based upon supposed ‘mindless repetitions’ in the sequence of heights, and on the assumption that ‘the recording of annual Nile highs did not begin in Egypt before the turn of the 3rd Dynasty’ (O’Mara 1996: 202).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.II.4

šms-Hr ḥb-dšr

‘following of Horus’; *desher*-festival

Djer’s second year

The significance of the *desher*-festival is unknown (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 302). Like several festivals from later in Egyptian history, the *desher*-festival was evidently discontinued after a brief period of popularity (Bleeker 1967: 32). The name itself means ‘red festival’, but this gives us little clue as to the purpose or form of the event itself. The determinative is a simple boat, perhaps indicating that the *desher*-festival took place on water (cf. Anthes 1957: 83 fig. 2). Daressy (1916, quoted in Clagett 1989: 120 n. 31) suggested that the ‘red festival’ may have been ‘celebrated in Upper Egypt in connection with an episode in the life of Seth’, but this seems unlikely given the distinct Lower Egyptian bias of the events recorded in the annals.

The absence of a (Nile) height measurement from this compartment — and from the years of Aha at the beginning of the register — has been cited as evidence for the ‘objectivity of those who compiled the text’ (Bell 1970: 572, quoting Cenival 1965).

PS r.II.5

mst s3tī-bīṯī

mḥ 4 šsp 1

creating ‘the two royal children’

4 cubits, 1 palm

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Djer's third year

The *s3rġ-bġrġ*, 'two royal children' (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1929: 412), are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Utterance 804a). The hieroglyphs themselves resemble birds' nests, but instead are probably to be identified as cult boats, perhaps for use in royal ceremonies (Anthes 1957: 80, 83 fig. 2). Sethe (1903: 63) believed this event to have been a mystical ceremony, but Daressy (1916: 210) favoured a literal interpretation. He argued that it recorded the birth of royal twins, one of whom went on to become king as the Horus Djer (based upon the fact that the word *ḏrġ* means 'twin'). However, since the event in question is recorded in the annals of Djer, Daressy's argument is clearly erroneous. Clagett (1989: 49) also followed a literal interpretation, suggesting the translation '[the festival of] the birth of the two children of the king of Lower Egypt'; he added, opaquely, that 'the reference is probably to the birth of Shu and Tefenet [sic]' (Clagett 1989: 113 n. 16). Literal interpretations seem to ignore the purpose of royal inscriptions and the power with which the written word was invested in ancient Egypt: the actual birth of royal children is unlikely to have been recorded in the annals (*contra* O'Mara 1996: 200), since childbirth (even royal childbirth) represented a dangerous moment which would have been inappropriate to perpetuate in a monumental inscription. Hence, Sethe's interpretation of this mysterious event seems more plausible, even if the precise significance is lost.

PS r.II.6

šms-Hr k3p? ḥsq?

mḥ 5 šsp 5 ḏb^c

'following of Horus'; censuring a sacrificial victim?

5 cubits, 5 palms, one finger

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Djer's fourth year

After the regular 'following of Horus', the second entry for this year presents many problems of transliteration, translation and interpretation. The first sign seems to be the hieroglyph *k3p*, usually translated as 'burn (incense)', 'cense'. The second sign, showing a lapwing with a knife superimposed over it, has been read as *hsq*, 'cut off', 'sever', 'behead', by comparison with a similar sign (showing an owl with a knife) which occurs in the Pyramid Texts (Schäfer 1902: 16; Erman and Grapow (eds) 1929: 168–9). If this reading is correct, the third sign of the group — a seated (female?) figure with what looks like liquid of some sort (blood?) issuing from her head — may be a determinative for a sacrificial victim. The combination of the verb 'cense' with a sacrifice is plausible, since the offering of sacrifices in temples may well have been accompanied by the burning of incense. Nevertheless, the reading *k3p hsq*, 'censing a sacrificial victim', for this entry is no more than a tentative suggestion. A recent translation of the annals has (independently) suggested a similar reading, namely '[the festival of] censing the decapitated folk' (Clagett 1989: 69), with the comment that 'the event being celebrated here is mysterious but appears to represent the early defeat and subjection of the *rekhyt*-folk of the Delta' (Clagett 1989: 114 n. 17). Whilst the Scorpion macehead does indeed show subjugated lapwings (*rhî*) hanging from standards, this is more likely to be a symbol of royal power than the record of a real event. Moreover, it seems rather unlikely that such a naked metaphor of royal power would still have been considered appropriate seven centuries later, in the Fifth Dynasty.

PS r.II.7

h3 smr-ntrw hb-Skr?

mḥ 5 šsp 5 db^c

planning? (the building) 'companion of the gods'; Sokar?-festival

5 cubits, 5 palms, one finger

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Djer's fifth year

For the possible meaning of *h3* in connection with a building, see commentary to r.III.6.

The identification of the building *smr-ntrw* is problematic. A plausible suggestion is that it was located at Saqqara, since a number of vessels from its ritual equipment ended up in the hoard with which Netjerikhet furnished his burial. (Note that vessels with the names of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer are also numerous in the Step Pyramid hoard, and the tombs of both kings lay nearby. Netjerikhet may have appropriated the contents of adjacent royal buildings when constructing his own mortuary complex at the beginning of the Third Dynasty.) O'Mara (1996: 200) identified *smr-ntrw* as 'the royal mastaba', though without any apparent supporting evidence.

The festival referred to in this compartment has generally been read as the 'Sokar festival' (Bleeker 1967: 32, 69–70), despite the fact that the bark determinative is not the usual type of boat associated with the Sokar festival. Like the morning-, evening- and *maaty*-barks mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, the boat depicted in PS r.II.7 (and again in PS r.IV.6 and r.IV.12) has two falcons perched on the cabin (cf. Anthes 1957: 82 fig. 1). This distinguishes it clearly from the *hnw*-bark of Sokar; hence, the usual reading of this bark-festival as the festival of Sokar may be erroneous, unless Sokar had a connection with the *maaty*-bark at this period (Anthes 1957:78). Sokar was a chthonic deity, associated in particular with the potential life in death (and hence later identified with Osiris). The key element of the Sokar festival (Bleeker 1967: 51–90) was the rite of dragging a sacred boat (Bleeker 1967: 86–7). It is probable that the king himself pulled the boat around a ritual circuit. The ceremony was evidently intended to activate the creative power of the god Sokar, awakening the hope of life after death for the king (and perhaps his closest followers).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.II.8

šms-Ḥr mst ʾI3t

mḥ 5 šsp 1

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Iat

5 cubits, 1 palm

Djer’s sixth year

The goddess Iat is attested in the Pyramid Texts (Utterances 211 and 578), but rarely after the Old Kingdom. She was possibly a milk goddess, responsible for nourishing and nursing the king (Helck 1980). The form of the sign in PS r.II.8 is most closely paralleled by that in Utterance 578 (§1537), read by Sethe (1962: 489) as ʾI3t. (A similar sign in Utterance 211 (§131d) is replaced in the Teti Pyramid Texts by the phonetic spelling ʾI3t, with the determinative of a vulture.) Helck (1980) suggested the alternative reading *j3mwt*. Controversially, Clagett (1989: 115 n. 19) read the sign ʾI3t as an archaic version of the *imiut*-fetish associated with the god Anubis. This is highly unlikely, given the way in which the *imiut*-fetish is written elsewhere in the annals (CF5 r.L.3).

PS r.II.9

ḥ^c(t)-nswt mst Mnw

mḥ 5

appearance of the king as *nswt*; creating (an image of) Min

5 cubits

Djer’s seventh year

The ritual appearance of the king would have involved him appearing in public in a carefully managed setting. For the *ḥ^c(t)-nswt* the king would appear in the white

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

crown, for the $h^c t-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}$ (PS r.III.12) he would wear the red crown, and for the combined ceremony ($h^c t-nswt-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}$) (PS r.III.3) the double crown would be worn (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 211).

The cult of a fertility god (later given the name Min) seems to have been established by the beginning of the First Dynasty, to judge from the colossal statues found in the temple at Coptos. The ‘thunderbolt’ symbol of Min, attested from the Predynastic period, occurs on the Scorpion macehead and on a private stela from the reign of Djer. This entry in the annals, if authentic, confirms that the cult of Min was the focus of royal devotion from the earliest period of Egyptian history.

PS r.II.10

šms-Hr mst ʔInpw

mḥ 6 šsp 1

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Anubis

6 cubits, 1 palm

Djer’s eighth year

The entries are the same as those in Aha’s penultimate year (PS r.II.1), namely the ‘following of Horus’ and ‘creating (an image of) Anubis’. The frequent references to the jackal deity indicate his importance in early court religion, as does the prominence of the $\bar{i}m\bar{i}-wt$ -fetish (associated with Anubis) on First Dynasty inscribed labels.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.II.11

zp tp⁷ hb-dt

mḥ 4 š3?

first occasion of the *djet*-festival

4 cubits, one span

Djer's ninth year

The *djet*-festival recorded as the main event in this year is, like the *deshet*-festival, completely obscure (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 301). It was evidently celebrated periodically during a reign, since this entry records only the 'first occasion of the *djet*-festival'. If the determinative of the festival can be taken at face value, the ritual seems to have involved a (sacred) boat. One of the meanings of the word dt is 'eternity', and Sethe (1903) suggested the translation 'Fest der Zeitordnung' ('festival of time-reckoning'). Borchardt (1917) supported this interpretation by linking the *djet*-festival with possible evidence that Sothic dating also began in the reign of Djer: an ivory label from Abydos (Petrie 1901: pl. V.1) bears an inscription which Borchardt (1917: 53) translated as 'Sothic New Year: season of akhet, (first day of the) second month'. Borchardt himself modified Sethe's translation of hb-dt, offering instead 'Ewigkeitsfest' ('festival of eternity'); furthermore, on etymological grounds he suggested a possible connection with (W3)dt, the cobra goddess of Buto, one of the 'Two Ladies', and the ancient tutelary deity of Lower Egypt (Borchardt 1917: 52). This latter suggestion — and indeed the other interpretations of the *djet*-festival — cannot be confirmed, and the event remains one of the more mysterious rituals attested in the annals.

The Nile height measurement in this compartment includes a bird's talons, a sign not met with previously. Its transliteration (š3) is uncertain, even if the translation 'span' is fairly clear. The value of the 'span' is unknown, as the unit was apparently not used in later periods (Bell 1970: 569).

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.II.12

...

...

...

...

Djer's tenth year

Nothing survives of this compartment except the lower part of the vertical *mnpt*-sign forming the right-hand edge.

Third Register (Den)

The entire preserved portion of r.III relates to the reign of a single king. Noteworthy is the absence of the 'following of Horus', so regularly attested in the preceding and following registers (cf. Sethe 1903: 47). Whether this indicates a temporary discontinuation of the practice, or simply a change in the type of records entered in the annals, cannot be determined with any certainty.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KING IN THE THIRD REGISTER

Despite the arguments of some scholars to the contrary (e.g. Ogdon 1982: 41), several considerations point to Den as the king whose reign occupies PS r.III.

The king in question must come after Djer (PS r.II) and before Ninetjer (PS r.IV) in the order of succession. From the placement of the king's titulary (of which the last three signs are preserved on the existing fragment of the annals), he must have reigned at least 13+6+13 (i.e. 32) years. There are several indications that Den's reign was a long one: his mother Meret-neith seems to have acted as regent at the beginning of his reign, suggesting that he came to the throne as a child. Moreover, the increase in the number of élite tombs dating to the reign of

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Den (at sites in the Memphite necropolis like Abu Rawash, North Saqqara and Helwan/el-Maasara) compared to other reigns of the First Dynasty cannot be explained simply by positing administrative reforms (although these may have occurred during Den's reign).

The name of the king's mother, of which only the last two phonetic signs are preserved, clearly incorporated the element *rt*. This fits with the name of Den's mother, Meret-neith (*Mrt-Nt*), attested on the king's own necropolis sealing. The writing of Meret-neith's name employed honorific transposition, placing the name of the goddess Neith first, followed by the element *mrt*. (The name above PS r.III was recognised very early on as being that of Meret-neith (Sethe 1903: 47), although she was incorrectly identified as the mother of Anedjib.)

A number of entries in r.III correspond to events from the reign of Den attested in contemporary sources, as Newberry and Wainwright (1914) were the first to note (cf. Petrie 1916: 120; Borchardt 1917: 36). First, the *sed*-festival in the *nth*+3 year is recorded on a fragmentary label of Den from Abydos (Petrie 1900: pl. XI.5, pl. XIV.12). Second, the 'spearing of the hippopotamus' in the *nth*+8 year is quite possibly the same event as that recorded on a fragmentary label of Den from Abydos which shows the king thrusting a spear (Petrie 1900: pl. XI.8, pl. XIV.8); note also a seal impression from Den's tomb at Abydos which shows (statues of) the king grappling with and spearing a hippopotamus (Petrie 1901: pl. VII.5–6); and a fragmentary label from Abydos which shows the king thrusting a two-pronged harpoon into a lake (?) (Petrie 1901: pl. VII.11). Third, the reference to the goddess Mafdet in the *nth*+13 year is certainly suggestive of Den's reign, which seems to have been marked by a particular devotion to this deity (Wilkinson 1999: 288–90). It may be pure coincidence, but Mafdet does not appear in inscriptions from any other reign of the First Dynasty. (Note, however, that O'Mara (1979: 151) dismissed these parallels as 'similarities rather than identities' and identified the king in the Third Register as Qaa.)

...[*M*]*rt*[-*Nt*]

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

(his mother) Meret-neith

It is noteworthy that the annals record the name of the king's mother as part of his titulary. This suggested to some scholars 'the matriarchal nature of the early monarchy' (Petrie 1916: 115), a theory which remains unproven. The precise importance of the king's mother in establishing his own legitimacy is unclear, but queens were certainly revered as dynastic foundresses at various points in the early history of Egypt: Ni-maat-hap is mentioned as 'the king's mother' on a sealing of Netjerikhet from Beit Khallaf, while Hetep-heres was revered as the ancestress of the Fifth Dynasty.

PS r.III.1

*ḥ^c ḥwt-ntr Ḥk3? S3w?
mḥ 3 šsp 1 db^cwī*

halting (at) the temple (at) Heka? and Sau?

3 cubits, 1 palm, two fingers

Den's nth+1 year

This compartment lies on the right-hand edge of the stone, and has been subject to wear along its edge. The partial preservation of some of the signs makes their interpretation even more problematic than usual. The entry seems to refer to the king halting (ḥ^c) at a temple in a particular locality, designated by a combination of signs, one of which shows a standing male figure. Naville interpreted this figure as the god Ptah, and read the whole phrase as *ḥ(wt)-k3-Pth* (Naville 1903: 70), the shrine at Memphis which later gave its name to Egypt as a whole (Egypt<Aegyptos<Hikuptah). Giustolisi (1968a, 1968b, 1969) also read the figure as Ptah, and this was followed in turn by Claggett (1989: 72) who translated the whole entry as 'the year of the [king's?] sojourn in the temple of Saw (or Ptah?) in the city of Heka'. However, the figure does not look like Ptah as he appears

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

later in the annals (PS v.III.1), and may instead be read *S3w*. It is possible that the combination of signs refers either to a single place (of unknown reading), or to two separate, but neighbouring localities, *Hk3* and *S3w*, neither of which has been identified (Gauthier 1927: 44; 1928: 2).

PS r.III.2

sqr ʾIwntʾw

mḥ 4 š3?

smiting the bowmen

4 cubits, one span

Den's nth+2 year

'The bowmen' (*ʾIwntʾw*) was a term applied to the inhabitants of the lands to the north-east of Egypt (Giveon 1975: 462). It is unclear whether the term designated settled peoples of southern Palestine or the (semi-)nomadic pastoralists of the desert fringes separating Egypt and Palestine, principally the Sinai peninsula. A rock-cut inscription of Khufu near the turquoise mines of the Wadi Maghara, Sinai, which mentions Egyptian action against the *ʾIwntʾw* (Gardiner and Peet 1952: pls ii–iii; cf. Giveon 1975: 463) may support the latter interpretation. In any case, *ʾIwntʾw* (sometimes, for obscure reasons, translated 'troglodytes') seems to have been the earliest term applied to Asiatics (generally referred to in later periods by the word *ʿ3mw*). When applied in later periods to the inhabitants of Nubia, *ʾIwntʾw* seems to have indicated nomads, but in the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom it seems, rather, to have been a tribal designation (Behrens 1982). Several year labels from the reign of Den (including the famous ivory label in the British Museum, Spencer 1993: 87 fig. 67) allude to military campaigns (whether real or symbolic) against the Asiatic inhabitants of the Near East (Petrie 1900: pl. XI.4, 14, 15; pl. XV. 16, 17, 18; Wilkinson 1999: fig. 5.1). One of these year labels may correspond to the entry preserved here in the royal annals.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.III.3

$h^{\zeta}(t)-nswt-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}$ $hb-sd$

$m\bar{h}$ 8 $\underline{db}^{\zeta}w$

appearance of the dual king; *sed*-festival

8 cubits, three fingers

Den's $n^{th}+3$ year

The previous register records only the $h^{\zeta}(t)-nswt$, 'the appearance of the king as *nswt*', while its counterpart $h^{\zeta}(t)-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}$, 'the appearance of the king as *b\bar{i}t\bar{i}*' may be depicted on the Narmer macehead. It seems likely that the combined ceremony whereby the king appeared as the dual king (*nswt-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}*) was instituted at the same time that the double crown (symbolic of the king's dual role) was adopted into the royal regalia. This is generally attributed to the reign of Den, but may in fact have taken place in the preceding reign (Wilkinson 1999: 196). Most reconstructions of the annals place the reign of Djet at the beginning (right-hand side) of r.III. We may surmise that the $h^{\zeta}(t)-nswt-b\bar{i}t\bar{i}$ ceremony was first recorded in r.III, either in the reign of Den or the reign of his predecessor.

Previous scholars assumed that the *sed*-festival must have been celebrated in Den's thirtieth regnal year, and based their reconstructions of the original annals on this assumption (e.g. Helck 1956: 78). However, it has been conclusively shown that the *sed*-festival could be celebrated at other times as well (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 213), and the exact circumstances which prompted the celebration of a *sed*-festival are unknown. Hence, 'the tentative assumption ... that this [PS r.III.3] is the thirtieth year of Den's reign is anything but certain' (Clagett 1989: 122). The *sed*-festival was the pre-eminent celebration of divine kingship; at its heart lay a renewal of the bonds between the king and the gods on the one hand, the king and his people on the other. The king reasserted his claim to the throne of Egypt, and to dominion over the land of Egypt. A fragmentary label of Den from Abydos mentions the king's *sed*-festival (Petrie 1900: pl.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

XIV.12); whilst a recently discovered limestone vessel fragment from the south-west annex to Den's tomb mentions 'the second occasion of the *sed*(-festival) (Dreyer 1990:80 fig. 9, pl. 26.d). This is the first indication that Den may have celebrated two such festivals. It seems likely that the entry in PS r.III.3 records the first *sed*-festival, since there is no accompanying phrase *zp* 2, 'second occasion of ...'.

The Nile height measurement given for this year is exceptionally large: eight cubits and three fingers. Helck (1966) suggested that such a large value was 'a fiction created for religious purposes' (Bell 1970: 569), but Bell (1970: 572) saw 'little reason to be sceptical'; she followed Sethe in translating the following year's entry as 'flooding of all the western and eastern (?) nomes', and attributed this calamity to the high Nile of the previous year (Bell 1970: 572). Although this may seem a plausible argument at first glance, it is extremely unlikely that the royal annals — intended to perpetuate an ideal view of kingship and of the created order which it was the king's duty to uphold — would have recorded a disaster such as a major flood. Hence, this interpretation of PS r.III.4 can be discounted, leaving the veracity of the Nile height measurement in PS r.III.3 unresolved.

PS r.III.4

h3 šw imnt mḥt(ḥ) rhḥt nbt i3bt
mḥ 3 š3?

organising? the agricultural holdings? of the north-west(ern Delta) and all the
people of the east(ern Delta)
3 cubits, one span

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Den's nth+4 year

The interpretation of the signs in this compartment poses significant problems and has provoked much discussion. Given the unusually high Nile level recorded in the previous compartment, it seemed natural to translate this entry accordingly (even though this approach ignores the nature, purpose and context of Egyptian monumental inscriptions). Hence, Sethe translated the entry as 'flooding of the western nomes of Lower Egypt, sickness of all people' while Clagett (1989: 72–3) suggested 'the year of the filling [i.e. flooding] of all the lakes [or nomes] of the rekhyt-folk in the west and the east of Lower Egypt [i.e. in the Delta]'. The problems with such translations have been discussed above.

Alternative interpretations have been offered by several scholars. Schäfer (1902: 19) suggested '... of the nomes (lakes?) of the west, north, east; all people', which seems to make little sense. Such a translation also involves reading the signs in a highly unconventional order, criss-crossing the compartment to achieve this sense. Breasted (1906a: 59) offered '(Numbering of) all people of the nomes of the west, north, and east'. He thus took the *h3*-sign as the verb 'number', but again this would mean reading the signs in an unconventional order. His alternative suggestion (Breasted 1906a: 59 n. d), that the *h3*-sign is 'an incorrectly made plant of the South' seems unlikely, given the considerable difference between *h3* and *rsi/šm*^c in hieroglyphic writing. Giustolisi (1968a, 1968b, 1969, quoted in Clagett 1989: 123–4 n. 42) offered a very similar translation, '(census of) all the people of the western, northern and eastern regions of the Delta'. It should be noted that the signs within any compartment are generally read in lines, starting with the top line and proceeding towards the bottom of the entry. Thus, although it is tempting to link the signs for the west and east — reading the three signs on the right of the compartment as a single group, referring to points of the compass — such a reading cannot be supported from the internal evidence of the annals.

The use of the *h3*-sign in an identical position two compartments later (PS r.III.6) would seem to offer the best model for its reading and interpretation here. Moreover, it seems wise to follow the usual order in which signs are read in the

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

upper registers of the annals when attempting an interpretation of the entry/entries in PS r.III.4. Adhering to these guidelines, the *h3*-sign most probably refers to the ‘planning’ or ‘organising’ of something. The order of the signs in PS r.III.6 suggests that the location of the organising activity is placed first in the compartment: in this case *imnt mḥtī*, ‘the west and north’ or perhaps ‘the north-west’. The three *š*-signs in ‘fourth’ place in the compartment probably refer to the object of the planning activity: *šw*, ‘basins’ (i.e. agricultural holdings established to supply the royal cult (Lehner 1997: 232). The suggested reading for the first four sign groups would thus be ‘organising the agricultural holdings of the north-west’. Such a reading would have much to recommend it, since the foundation of royal estates in the western (and eastern) Delta — the administrative precursor of the nome system — is attested on seal-impressions from the reign of Den (Wilkinson 1999: 117, 139).

There follow the remaining two groups of signs, at the bottom of the compartment. The first is clearly the east-sign (*i3bt*). The second group is also straightforward to read: *rhīṯ nbt*, ‘all people’. However, the interpretation and meaning of these two groups is far from straightforward. The relationship between the two may be genitival, the meaning being ‘all people of the east’. How such a phrase would fit after the preceding sentence is not entirely clear, unless the ‘organising’ applies equally to people and the agricultural infrastructure. In this case, we may speculate that Den’s administrative activities involved the reorganisation of the local population of the eastern Delta (perhaps to make way for the foundation of royal estates) as well as the establishment of agricultural basins, initially in the western Delta (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 142). A very tentative translation for the whole entry may be suggested as follows: ‘organising the agricultural holdings of the north-west and all the people of the east’.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.III.5

zp 2 ḥb-dt

mḥ 5 šsp 2

second occasion of the *djet*-festival

5 cubits, 2 palms

Den's nth+5 year

The *djet*-festival is mentioned earlier in the annals, in Djer's ninth year (PS r.II.11). Since the 'second occasion' is recorded in PS r.III.5, it had evidently been celebrated once before in Den's reign (perhaps also in his ninth year, though this cannot be confirmed).

PS r.III.6

ḥ3 swt-ntrw ḥb-Skr?

mḥ 5 šsp 1 db^cwī

planning? (the building) 'thrones of the gods'; Sokar?-festival

5 cubits, 1 palm, two fingers

PS r.III.7

ḥm[-ntr] Sš3t pḏ-šs ^c3-wr swt-ntrw

mḥ 4 šsp 2?

stretching the cord (at the) great door (of the building) 'thrones of the gods' (by)

the priest of Seshat

4 cubits, 2 palms?

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.III.8

wpt-š swt-ntrw stt ḥ(3)b
mḥ 2

opening the (sacred) lake (at the building) ‘thrones of the gods’; spearing the
hippopotamus
2 cubits

Den’s nth+6–8 years

These three compartments record three stages in the construction of a single building, named ‘thrones of the gods’. These three entries may tell us something about the foundation of a new ceremonial/religious building in Early Dynastic Egypt.

The first stage (*ḥ3*) probably represents the formal planning of the building (although an alternative reading interprets the word *ḥ3* as signifying the king’s visit to the site to sanctify it). While most scholars have favoured the translation ‘planning’ for the word *ḥ3*, at least one commentator has argued vigorously for the (more common) rendering ‘behind’ or ‘at’ (Clagett 1989: 114 n. 18). Certainly, in connection with the building *smr-ntrw*, it is difficult to see how the same edifice could have been ‘planned’ twice (see commentary to PS r.II.7 and CF1 r.II.4). Yet, it is also problematic to posit a royal ceremony ‘at’ a building (PS r.III.6) before its formal foundation (PS r.III.7). Hence, it seems preferable to retain the generally accepted interpretation of the term *ḥ3*, as used in the annals (‘planning’), even if this creates problems of its own.

The second stage (‘stretching the cord’) marks the official foundation ceremony, during which the temple was laid out and aligned to the cardinal points. The goddess Seshat played an important symbolic role in the foundation of temples (Wilkinson 1999: 294). Here, she seems to have been represented in the ceremonies by a priest of her cult.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

The third stage marks the digging (literally ‘opening’) of a lake, probably the sacred lake attached to the temple. The ritual spearing of a hippopotamus seems to have been a royal activity from Predynastic times (Wilkinson 1999: 216–17). It no doubt represented an attack on chaos and struck a blow for the preservation of created order; the ritual doubtless emphasised the paramount role of the king to uphold Maat.

Ogdon (1982: 42–3) has suggested different transliterations and translations of these three compartments:

PS r.III.6

śt.w-ntr.w zḥ mḥ(y)t

(procession to) ‘thrones of the gods’ and the ‘Booth of the North’

This interpretation cannot be substantiated. By contrast, parallels from elsewhere in the annals make the transliteration and translation favoured here the most plausible.

PS r.III.7

pḏ šs ḥm[-ntr] Sš3t š wr śt.w-ntr.w

stretching the rope (by) the priest of Seshat (for) the great lake (of)
‘thrones of the gods’

The hieroglyph transliterated by Ogdon as *š* (lake) is clearly a door (^c3): compare the *š*-sign in the next compartment.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.III.8

wp.t š st.w-ntr.w stt (?) db(?) Nhb (?)

opening of the lake (of) ‘thrones of the gods’ (with the) shooting of
(?) the hippopotamus (in) Nekheb (?)

The signs which Ogdon reads as *Nhb* (Nekheb) are much more plausibly interpreted as signs comprising the phonetic spelling of *h(3)b*, ‘hippopotamus’. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this entry contains any reference to Nekheb.

Ogdon also suggests an alternative reading for this compartment:

wp.t š st.w-ntr.w wb3 itt M3fdt Nhb

opening of the lake (of) ‘thrones of the gods’ (with the) opening up of
an altar of Mafdet in Nekheb (?)

The spelling of the word *stt* ‘spearing’ is clear and unambiguous; there is no possibility of the word being a rendition of *wb3 itt*. The identification of the hippopotamus as a feline (the goddess Mafdet) is entirely without foundation and cannot be supported.

The building itself (*swt-ntrw*) has not been positively identified. Swelim (1974) suggested that it was tomb S3505 at Saqqara (which he identified as the tomb of Qaa), citing a stone bowl inscription from the Step Pyramid galleries (Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 17 no. 86) which reputedly mentions the building *swt-ntrw* in connection with the Horus Sneferka (perhaps an ephemeral usurper during or after the reign of Qaa, or perhaps an alternative Horus name for Qaa himself). Careful inspection of the inscription shows that the building mentioned is not *swt-ntrw* but *q(3iw)-ntrw*, ‘high (places) of the gods (?)’. The suggestion that the *q*-sign (a hill) was an archaic writing of the *swt*-sign (a stepped throne) (O’Mara 1979: 152) cannot be substantiated, and indeed the contemporary orthography of

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

the Horus-name Qaa ($q(3i)^c$) argues strongly against such an interpretation. Nevertheless, Ogdon (1982: 41) agreed with Swelim on the date of *swt-ntrw*, but noted the reference to a sacred lake in PS r.III.8 and argued that the building must be a temple, since ‘there is not a single Archaic tomb which presents a similar construction’ (Ogdon 1982: 46).

As we have seen, the internal evidence of the annals supports the identification of the king in PS r.III as Den. Hence, the building *swt-ntrw* is likely to have been founded in his reign. Given the probable Memphite emphasis of the annals, one possible identification of *swt-ntrw* would be the cultic enclosure built at Saqqara during the reign of Den (Macramallah 1940; Kaiser 1985).

PS r.III.9

$^c h^c Nn\{w\}-nswt \check{s} hwt-ntr Hr\check{i}-\check{s}.f?$
mh 5

halting (at) Herakleopolis (and) the lake of the temple of Herishef
5 cubits

Den’s nth+9 year

This entry marks the earliest attestation both of the town of Herakleopolis (ancient Nen-nisut) and of its local god Herishef ($Hr\check{i}-\check{s}.f$, Greek Harsaphes). The town of Herakleopolis (modern Ehnasya el-Medina) was clearly an important centre from the earliest period of Egyptian history, although excavations at the site have, thus far, revealed no material earlier than the First Intermediate Period (Pérez Die 1995). The significance of the ancient name is unclear. Nen-nisut (*Nn-nswt*) would seem to mean ‘the royal child’, although an alternative reading *Hnn-nswt*, ‘the palm-grove of the king’, has been suggested (Bruijning 1922: 1; cf. Gauthier 1926: 93; Gomaa 1977 supports the traditional reading).

The name of the local god Herishef, ‘he who is upon his lake’, refers to a topographical feature, probably within his temple. It is interesting that this lake is

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

referred to explicitly in the annals entry. This same event may be recorded on a fragmentary label of Den from Abydos which shows a (sacred) ram within a temple enclosure, identified by a shrine surmounted by a bucranium (Petrie 1901: pl. VII.8). This accords with later representations of the temple of Herishef.

PS r.III.10

hdi? [r] S^ch?-nswt Wr-k3

mḥ 4 š3?

travelling downstream by boat (to the towns of) Sah?-nisut (and) Wer-ka
4 cubits, one span

Den's nth+10 year

The compartment records a voyage by boat to two localities, neither of which has been identified (Gauthier 1928: 16; 1925: 200). It is difficult to know whether the boat hieroglyph was merely intended as an ideogram, or as a phonetic determinative for the verb *hd*, 'to fare downstream'. Of the two localities mentioned, the first is written with a combination of signs including a goat whose phonetic value is unknown. Possibilities include *s^ch* if the animal is indeed a goat, or *ghs* if a short-horned gazelle is intended (Gauthier 1928: 16). The form of the name, *x-nswt*, parallels the ancient name of Herakleopolis (*Nn{w}-nswt*) in the previous compartment. The second locality, Wer-ka, has as its determinative a man hacking at the town-sign. This may indicate that the place in question was deemed hostile to Egypt, and therefore worthy of attack, although this hypothesis cannot be proven. (Hence, Clagett (1989: 73) translates this year's entry 'the year of the journey to Sahseteni and of the smiting of Wer-ka'.)

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.III.11

mst Sd

mḥ 6 šsp 1 db^cwi

creating (an image of) Sed

6 cubits, 1 palm, two fingers

Den's nth+11 year

The god Sed, apparently worshipped in canine form, is rather obscure. He does not seem to be attested after the Old Kingdom, when Wepwawet rises to the fore as the principal canine deity next to Anubis. (Note that Sed and Wepwawet are depicted as standing animals, whilst Anubis is always shown in a reclining position.) It is possible that Sed and Wepwawet are in fact the same god, Wepwawet being originally an epithet of Sed, but later becoming the main name by which the deity was known (Brovarski 1984).

PS r.III.12

ḥ^c(t)-bḥtⁱ zp tpⁱ phrr Hp^w

mḥ 2 š3?

appearance of the king as bḥtⁱ; first occasion of the running of the Apis bull

2 cubits, one span

Den's nth+12 year

The 'running of the Apis bull' was to attain great national importance and survive for many centuries. It is first attested on a sealing from Saqqara, dated to the reign of Den (Emery 1938: 64 fig. 26). In later periods the Apis bull was identified with Ptah, but it is possible that Apis was originally a separate deity. At least in later times, the running of the Apis bull took place at Memphis. In common with the

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

festival of Sokar (?) and the building *smr-ntrw* mentioned in Djer's fifth year, the running of the Apis bull may indicate a bias in the royal annals in favour of events which took place at or near the capital (Memphis). This would not be entirely surprising: the administration was based at Memphis, and events which took place in the immediate vicinity of the capital might be expected to have had a greater prominence in the life of the court than events which occurred in more distant parts of Egypt. Moreover, the central archives from which the annals were compiled were very likely kept at the Residence in Memphis, and the no doubt partial preservation of early records may have reinforced a bias in favour of the capital and its activities.

PS r.III.13

mst Šš3t M3fdt

mḥ 3 šsp 5 db^ᶜwi

creating (images of) Seshat and Mafdet

3 cubits, 5 palms, two fingers

Den's nth+13 year

Seshat was the goddess most intimately connected with temple foundation ceremonies. Together with the entries of the nth+6–8 years, the fact that the creation of Seshat's cult image was deemed an event worthy of record may indicate that temple building was regarded as particularly important during Den's reign (it was, at all periods, one of the king's primary duties, in his role as chief priest of every cult and intermediary between the divine and human spheres). As we have seen, the cult of the goddess Mafdet seems to have risen to particular prominence during the reign of Den: a sealing of Den from Abydos shows the fetish of Mafdet (Petrie 1900: pl. XXXII.39); two fragments of a stone vessel show Mafdet as a lioness, identified as 'mistress of the mansion of life' (*nbt ḥwt-ᶜnh*) (Petrie 1900: pl. VII.4; 1901: pl. VII.10); a further stone vessel fragment

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

bears the *serekh* of Den and the fetish of Mafdet in raised relief (Petrie 1901: pl. VII.7).

PS r.III.14

[*h*^c*t*]-*nswt mst* ...

...

appearance of the king as *nswt*; creating (an image of) ...

...

Den's *nth*+14 year

The left-hand side of this compartment has been lost, but the surviving traces indicate that the events recorded were the ritual 'appearance of the king' (probably as *nswt*, although possibly as *nswt-bt*²*tt*) and the creation of a divine image.

Fourth Register (Ninetjer)

The compartments of the fourth register belong to the reign of a single king, identified by the preserved portion of his titulary as Ninetjer, third king of the Second Dynasty. The king's Horus name, written within a *serekh*, is given in its correct form, unlike the later king lists which record the garbled variants Banetjeren and Banetjeru. The Horus name is followed by a figure of the king enthroned. This either represents a separate title or acts as a determinative for the king's primary name. The group of signs which follow, read tentatively as *nn rn-nbw*, are likely to comprise a forerunner of the Golden Horus title together with an associated name (this was first recognised by Maspero (1914)).

The surviving portion of Ninetjer's titulary suggests that the original would have spanned the width of seven compartments (each compartment being rather narrower in r.IV than in the first three registers). The first year preserved in PS

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

r.IV is identified as the 'third occasion of the census', corresponding to the fifth or sixth year, depending upon whether the first census of the new reign was carried out in the king's first or second year; the second year is perhaps more likely, since the first year would have been dominated (and denoted) by the ceremonies surrounding the king's accession and coronation (cf. Sethe 1903: 42 n. 3; Gardiner 1945: 13). The first five years of Ninetjer's reign must therefore have been recorded on the missing portion of the annals. From these considerations and the placement of Ninetjer's titulary, he must have reigned for $16+7+16$ (i.e. 39) years. Confirmation that Ninetjer enjoyed a long reign comes from a contemporary inscription: the 'seventeenth occasion of the census' is mentioned on a stone vessel from the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerikhet at Saqqara (Lacau and Lauer 1965: 89 fig. 173 (no. 274); Helck 1979: 128); this event will have occurred in the king's thirty-fourth year.

Every second year in PS r.IV is identified by the combination of two events: the 'following of Horus' and the census. Since the 'following of Horus' probably denotes a royal progress throughout the country, it seems likely that the two events were connected in some way. The regular progress of the king, no doubt accompanied by his most senior officials, may have presented the court with the ideal opportunity to assess the country's agricultural wealth and thus the amount of taxation to be levied. We see here the tight control which the government maintained over the economic activity of the whole country — in order to channel resources into the treasury to support the court and its projects — and the degree to which administrative mechanisms were bound up with (and partially disguised by) ideology. This emerges as a key characteristic of the Early Dynastic state (cf. Wilkinson 1999).

The precise nature and scope of the census is not clear, although entries in r.V mention a 'census of gold and fields', in other words the mineral and agricultural wealth of the country. The introduction of the census also marks the beginning of a regular dating mechanism. In the Old Kingdom the biennial census was used as the main dating indicator, with each year designated either by the numbered occurrence of the census (which started again at 1 for each new reign) or by the

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

phrase ‘year after the (numbered) census’. In time, the expression *rnpt zp*, ‘year of occasion [of the census]’ came to mean simply ‘regnal year’ (Gardiner 1945: 15).

Hr-Nṯ-nṯr nn rn-nbw? ...

The Horus Ninetjer, Gold-name Nen?

PS r.IV.1

šms-Hr ...

...

‘following of Horus’; ...

...

Ninetjer’s sixth year

The bottom of this compartment has been destroyed, but we may restore the entry as ‘third occasion of the census’. As in the following even years of Ninetjer’s reign, the census was accompanied by the ‘following of Horus’.

PS r.IV.2

h^ς(t)-nswt pḏ-šs r-n-Hr

mḥ 3 šsp 4 ḏb^ςwṯ

appearance of the king as *nswt*; stretching the cord (at the building) ‘mouth of Horus’

3 cubits, 4 palms, two fingers

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Ninetjer's seventh year

The identity of the building 'mouth of Horus' remains unknown, but it is quite likely that it was located somewhere in the vicinity of Memphis. (Thus far, no monument of Ninetjer is known outside the Memphite region.)

PS r.IV.3

šms-Hr zp 4 tnwt

mḥ 4 dbꜥwỉ

'following of Horus'; fourth occasion of the census

4 cubits, two fingers

Ninetjer's eighth year

Every even-numbered year of Ninetjer's reign is designated by the same combination of events: the 'following of Horus' and the census, numbered sequentially (cf. PS r.IV.5, 7, 9, 11, 13).

PS r.IV.4

ḥꜥ(t)-nswt-bỉỉỉ phrr z3-ꜥnḥ

mḥ 4 šsp 1 dbꜥwỉ

appearance of the dual king; running of (the bull) 'the son of life'/'living son'

4 cubits, 1 palm, two fingers

Ninetjer's ninth year

It has usually been assumed that the expression z3-ꜥnḥ, 'the son of life' or 'the living son' (it is not possible to decide between the two readings), is in fact an epithet of the Apis bull, and that the running of the Apis bull (cf. PS r.III.12, PS r.IV.10) is recorded here (Schäfer 1902: 23; Naville 1903: 71; Clagett 1989: 77).

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

However, the internal evidence of the annals suggests that this interpretation is incorrect: from the entries specifically mentioning the running of the Apis bull, it is clear that this event took place more than once in a reign, if the king remained on the throne for a substantial length of time (as seems to have been the case with Den and Ninetjer). Hence, PS r.III.12 designates the ceremony as the ‘first occasion of the running of the Apis bull’ (implying that a second occasion took place later in Den’s reign); while PS r.IV.10 mentions the ‘second occasion of the running of the Apis bull’, indicating that a first occasion must have taken place earlier in Ninetjer’s reign. It seems almost certain that the first occasion in Ninetjer’s reign would have been designated using the same formula as appears in PS r.III.12, namely *zp tp² phrr Hpw*. But instead, in PS r.IV.4 we have a completely different entry, mentioning neither the ‘first occasion’ nor the Apis bull. The conclusion must be that we should see in *z3-^cnh* a second, divine bull, distinct from the Apis bull. The first occasion of the running of the Apis bull — if it merited inclusion in the annals as an eponymous event — must have taken place in the early part of Ninetjer’s reign now missing.

PS r.IV.5

šms-Hr zp 5 tnwt
mḥ 4 šsp 4

‘following of Horus’; fifth occasion of the census
4 cubits, 4 palms

Ninetjer’s tenth year

See commentary to PS r.IV.3.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS r.IV.6

h^c(t)-bⁱtⁱ z^p 2 h^b-Skr?

m^h 3 šsp 4 db^cwⁱ

appearance of the king as *bⁱtⁱ*; second occasion of the Sokar?-festival

3 cubits, 4 palms, two fingers

Ninetjer's eleventh year

By the reign of Ninetjer, it appears that the festival, tentatively translated as 'Sokar-festival', whatever its precise identity, had become periodic. Thus, the third occasion is noted in the seventeenth year (PS r.IV.12), again accompanied by the 'appearance of the king as *bⁱtⁱ*'; and the fourth occasion (probably in the twenty-third year) is mentioned in a contemporary inscription on a stone vessel from Saqqara (Lacau and Lauer 1965: 88 fig. 172 (no. 273); cf. Helck 1979: 128).

PS r.IV.7

šms-Ḥr z^p 6 tⁿwt

m^h 4 db^cw

'following of Horus'; sixth occasion of the census

4 cubits, three fingers

Ninetjer's twelfth year

See commentary to PS r.IV.3.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.IV.8

*zp tp̄l dw3-Hr-pt ḥbs Šm-r^c ḥbs H3
mh 4 db^cw*

first occasion of the ‘adoring Horus of the sky’-festival; hacking up (the place)
Shem-ra, hacking up (the place) Ha
4 cubits, three fingers

Ninetjer’s thirteenth year

The significance of the ‘adoring Horus of the sky’-festival is entirely unknown, since it is not attested in later periods.

This compartment also contains one of the most intriguing entries from the royal annals. It has given rise to much speculation, especially as it seems to tie in with (better, prefigure) the apparent breakdown in central authority which may characterise the end of Ninetjer’s reign. Of course, the attacks on the two localities may be symbolic, ritual events rather than actual events. Nevertheless, the reference to punitive action against places presumably located within Egypt is striking. It is certainly suggestive, but it remains difficult to interpret this entry without taking into account other evidence for Ninetjer’s reign and its aftermath. Neither of the two places mentioned in the second half of the compartment has been identified (Gauthier 1928: 135; 1927: 76). The name given to the first locality, Šm-r^c (‘the sun proceeds’) may be theologically significant, perhaps indicating an increased interest in the sun (which seems to be reflected in the name of Ninetjer’s predecessor Nebra). The reading of the second name H3 (‘north’) is by no means secure — (*hwt*) mh, ‘house of the north’, has also been suggested (Gauthier 1927: 76) — yet much has been read into it. It has been suggested that an attack on a northern town may have signalled the outbreak of hostilities between Upper and Lower Egypt which eventually led to a division of the state after the reign of Ninetjer. However, Ninetjer himself was undoubtedly based at Memphis, he was buried at Saqqara, and his activities (at least as far as

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

they are attested in surviving sources) seem to have been concentrated in the Memphite region. Why he should have mounted an attack against a northern town is thus difficult to explain.

PS r.IV.9

šms-Hr zp 7 tnwt

mḥ 1

‘following of Horus’; seventh occasion of the census

1 cubit

Ninetjer’s fourteenth year

See commentary to PS r.IV.3.

PS r.IV.10

ḥ^c(t)-bīṯ² zp 2 pḥrr Ḥpw

mḥ 3 šsp 4 db^cw

appearance of the king as *bīṯ²*; second occasion of the running of the Apis bull

3 cubits, 4 palms, three fingers

Ninetjer’s fifteenth year

Clearly the ‘running of the Apis bull’ must have taken place once before during the first five years of Ninetjer’s reign. The odd placement of the signs in the word *pḥrr* (‘running’) is a result of the restricted space available to the inscriber.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.IV.11

šms-Hr zp 8 tnwt

mḥ 3 šsp 5 db^cwl

‘following of Horus’; eighth occasion of the census

3 cubits, 5 palms, two fingers

Ninetjer’s sixteenth year

See commentary to PS r.IV.3.

PS r.IV.12

ḥ^c(t)-b^ltl zp 3 ḥb-Skr?

mḥ 2 db^cwl

appearance of the king as *b^ltl*; third occasion of the Sokar?-festival

2 cubits, two fingers

Ninetjer’s seventeenth year

For the significance of the festival mentioned in this entry, see commentary to PS r.IV.6.

PS r.IV.13

šms-Hr zp 9 tnwt

mḥ 2 db^cwl

‘following of Horus’; ninth occasion of the census

2 cubits, two fingers

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Ninetjer's eighteenth year

See commentary to PS r.IV.3.

PS r.IV.14

h^c(t)-bỉỉỉ m3^c? Nhb̥t hb-d̥t?

m̥h 3

appearance of the king as *bỉỉỉ*; offering? (to) Nekhbet; *djet*-festival?

3 cubits

Ninetjer's nineteenth year

The translation and meaning of the second and third events in this compartment are far from clear (cf. Clagett 1989: 131 n. 61). The first two signs of the second event seem clear enough, giving the reading *m3*. This may be an abbreviated writing of *m3^c*, 'offering'; but this is no more than guesswork. Whether the sedge-sign is to be read as part of the name of Nekhbet (identified by the vulture-sign below), or whether it refers to the king (*nswt*), is equally uncertain. The writing of the *djet*-festival is abbreviated here, due to lack of space. Despite the absence of the boat determinative, the rest of the writing is similar enough to the other occurrence of this festival (PS r.II.11) to make identification reasonably secure.

PS r.IV.15

šms-Ḥr zp 10 [t̥nwt]

...

'following of Horus'; tenth occasion [of the census]

...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Ninetjer's twentieth year

The bottom left-hand side of the compartment has been lost, but it is simple enough to restore the full entry on the basis of the preceding even-numbered years.

PS r.IV.16

...

...

Ninetjer's twenty-first year

The compartment lies on the extreme left-hand edge of the stone and only the initial *mnpt*-sign remains. Judging by preceding years, it seems likely that the first event of the twenty-first year would have been the ritual 'appearance of the king', probably as *bꜣꜣ*.

Fifth Register (Khasekhemwy?–Netjerikhet?)

The fifth register records the end of one king's reign, and the beginning of his successor's. The reign of the first king ended 2 months and 23 days into his eighteenth civil year. The remaining nine months and twelve days of the calendar year, which belong to the reign of the second king, are not specifically recorded. This caused some confusion among early scholars of the annals. For example, Read (1914–15: 39–41) explained the absence of a second enumeration by means of a complicated theory involving the end of a co-regency and the beginning of a sole reign. However, a 'second set [of figures] is really quite unnecessary, since the space of time in question can at once be ascertained by subtracting the first set from 1 year' (Gardiner 1945: 12 n.1).

It is noteworthy that the regular biennial census is no longer recorded after the change of reign. Whether this reflects a real change in administrative practice at

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

the end of the Second Dynasty, or the whim of the annalists, cannot be established.

We can assume that the titulary of the first king must have occupied the width of five compartments, and that it must have been inscribed on the portion of the annals immediately adjacent to the surviving fragment. From the absence of any titulary for the second king on the surviving portion, it can be established that he must have reigned for at least 5+5+5 (i.e. 15) years.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KINGS IN THE FIFTH REGISTER

From the general position of the entries, it is certain that the first and second kings must have reigned at the end of the Second Dynasty or during the Third Dynasty (at any rate, between the reigns of Ninetjer and Sneferu). The best clue to the identity of the first king is the entry for his fifteenth year, which records the creation of a statue called 'high is Khasekhemwy'. This would seem to point to the reign in question being that of Khasekhemwy himself, although it is possible that his successor Netjerikhet commissioned a statue in his honour. As Krauss (1996: 45 n. 20) has noted in connection with PS r.V.4 and CF4 r.M.1, 'the possibility that kings ordered statues of their predecessors cannot be ruled out, but it is surely more likely that the entries document the manufacture, dedication or erection of a statue of the current, living ruler'.

Helck (1956: 80) and others have (e.g. Kaiser 1961: 46; Malek 1986: 46; Clagett 1989: 51) identified the first king of PS r.V as Nebka (the Horus Zanakht), following the Abydos king list and Turin Canon. However, recent archaeological evidence proves that Khasekhemwy was succeeded directly by Netjerikhet, Nebka having reigned towards the end of the Third Dynasty. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain whether the compilers of PS followed the tradition of later king lists and placed Nebka before Djoser/Netjerikhet as the first king of the Third Dynasty. Various possible reconstructions of the original annals stone do little to resolve the problem of identifying the kings in PS r.V. On balance, the entry recording the dedication of a statue of Khasekhemwy would

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

seem to be decisive in identifying the first king of PS r.V as Khasekhemwy, even though a reign of 18 years seems rather short for so significant a ruler.

It is tempting to regard the abandonment of the old dating system (based on the periodic census) as administratively significant. In this case, it seems likely that such a change would have been effected in the reign of Netjerikhet, marked as it was by other important innovations (the final abandonment of the ancestral royal burial ground at Abydos in favour of Saqqara; the innovation of pyramid building; the first large-scale use of stone). It would be a neat solution (perhaps too neat) if the census method of dating were coeval with the Second Dynasty, being replaced at the beginning of the Third. One scholar has suggested that the biennial census, although not specifically mentioned in the annals of Netjerikhet, would have taken place nevertheless, but would have been subsumed into the similarly biennial ‘following of Horus’ (Clagett 1989: 51). Given the historical accuracy of Khasekhemwy’s name in PS r.V.4, it is plausible to suggest that the compilers had at their disposal records more accurate than those available to later annalists. Hence, the proposition that the second king of PS r.V is to be identified as Netjerikhet may be made with some confidence.

Rather than starting a new compartment for the first year of the second king, the compiler has simply drawn a vertical line through a single year compartment to indicate the change of reign. This is undoubtedly a clearer method, as it indicates that a single calendar year spanned two reigns (Jéquier 1906a: 60).

PS r.V.1

šms-Ḥr zp 6 t_nwt

mḥ 2 šsp 4 db^c 1½

‘following of Horus’; sixth occasion of the census

2 cubits, 4 palms, one-and-a-half fingers

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Khasekhemwy's twelfth year

Following the pattern of Ninetjer's reign (and perhaps characteristic of the Second Dynasty), this even-numbered year is identified by two events: the 'following of Horus' and the census (in this case the sixth occasion).

PS r.V.2

h^c(t)-nswt-bꜣtꜣ qd in(r) mn-nꜥrt
mḥ 2 šsp 3 db^c

appearance of the dual king; building in stone (the building) 'the goddess endures'

2 cubits, three palms, one finger

Khasekhemwy's thirteenth year

The identity of the building called 'the goddess endures' cannot be established (cf. Malek 1986: 46). Several temple buildings are attested from the reign of Khasekhemwy; indeed, his reign seems to foreshadow the unprecedented use of stone in the mortuary complex of his successor Netjerikhet. The name of the building, with its reference to a goddess, suggests two immediate possibilities. Khasekhemwy is known to have erected a building with stone elements at Elkab, the cult centre of the goddess Nekhbet, tutelary deity of Upper Egypt. A stone block from the temple of Hathor at Gebelein may also date to the reign of Khasekhemwy. Either building may have been called 'the goddess endures', but this remains speculation. There is also the intriguing possibility that the great enclosure or 'Gisr el-Mudir' at Saqqara — a massive stone-built structure to the west of the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerikhet — may date to the reign of Khasekhemwy (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 244). Given the acknowledged Memphite bias of the annals, the identification of 'the goddess endures' as the royal funerary enclosure at Saqqara is tempting.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.V.3

šms-Ḥr zp 7 tnwt nbw šht
mḥ 3²/3

‘following of Horus’; seventh occasion of the census of gold and fields
three-and-two-thirds cubits

Khasekhemwy’s fourteenth year

The census (previously referred to by the term *tnwt*, ‘counting’) is now described more fully as a ‘census of gold and fields’ (*tnwt nbw šht*). (For the translation of these signs see Sethe 1903: 76.) This suggests that the court assessed not only Egypt’s agricultural wealth, but also its mineral wealth. ‘Gold’ presumably refers to the totality of the country’s mines and/or mineral production (an area of the economy that the state must have been particularly keen to control). ‘Fields’ likewise probably stands for all agricultural resources, although fields, their size, location and productivity must have been the primary index of agricultural wealth, and the primary concern of the treasury assessors.

PS r.V.4

mst ḥmt? q(3ṯ)-Ḥ^c-šḥmwī
mḥ 2 šsp 6 db^c 2¹/2

creating the copper (statue) ‘high is Khasekhemwy’
2 cubits, 6 palms, two-and-a-half fingers

Khasekhemwy’s fifteenth year

This entry seems to attest the earliest use of copper for royal statuary, preceding the well-known statues of Pepi I and Merenra by at least four hundred years (Sethe 1914, 1917). Malek (1986: 55) interprets the name of the statue as ‘King

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Khasekhemui who is tall of the White Crown'. Malek (1986: 55) also notes that 'giving names to royal statues was a common Egyptian practice' and comments that the entry 'shows that copper was still regarded as a very prestigious metal'.

PS r.V.5

šms-Hr zp 8 tnwt nbw šht
mḥ 4 šsp 2 db^c 2^{2/3}

'following of Horus'; eighth occasion of the census of gold and fields
4 cubits, 2 palms, two-and-two-thirds fingers

Khasekhemwy's sixteenth year

The compartment records the same combination of events as the king's fourteenth year (PS r.V.3).

PS r.V.6

zp 4 in inb šd dšrt Dw3-df(3)
mḥ 4 šsp 2

fourth occasion of reaching? the wall; ship-building (in?) Dua-djefa?
4 cubits, 2 palms

Khasekhemwy's seventeenth year

The event called 'reaching (?) the wall' was presumably a ritual celebration, although it remains entirely obscure. The use of the verb *in*, 'bring' in the context of a wall (*inb*) is unexpected and inexplicable, unless a related meaning such as 'reach' is intended. The location of the wall is not specified, but it may well have been the 'white wall' (*inb-hd*) of the royal compound at Memphis.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

The precise meaning of the phrase *šd dšr(t)* is uncertain, but by its context in the annals of Sneferu it obviously refers to ship-building (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1930: 562). This is the earliest known reference to ship-building (even though an earlier royal boat is named on an inscribed stone bowl of King Weneg). Ship-building is obviously dependent upon obtaining significant quantities of high-quality timber (preferably coniferous wood). Given that the principal source of timber was the Lebanese littoral, the timber itself being exported to Egypt via Byblos (cf. PS r.VI.2, r.VI.3), it is tempting to link this first recorded instance of ship-building, in the reign of Khasekhemwy, with the earliest evidence of an Egyptian presence at Byblos: a stone vessel fragment from the temple area incised with the *serekh* of the same king. It is also noteworthy that the earliest attested, large-scale use of imported cedar-wood in Egypt is the group of eight funerary barks buried adjacent to Khasekhemwy's enclosure (the Shunet ez-Zebib) at Abydos (O'Connor 1995). (It is tempting to speculate that the reference to ship-building in PS r.V.6, belonging as it does to Khasekhemwy's penultimate year, may refer to the construction of these very funerary boats.) Hence, the spiralling interdependence of Egypt and the hinterland of Byblos, based upon the timber trade and the construction of sea-going ships, may have begun at the end of the Second Dynasty (Marfoe 1987: 27). The town named as *Dw3-df(3)* has not been identified; even its reading is uncertain (Gauthier 1929: 88). If it was the centre of ship-building activity, it may have been located on or near the Delta coast, where shipments of timber would have arrived from Byblos.

PS r.V.7

3bd 2 sw 23

2 months 23 days

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Khasekhemwy's eighteenth year

The entry indicates that the king died after two months and twenty-three days of the calendar (civil) year had elapsed.

change of reign

PS r.V.8

$h^c(t)$ -nswt-b \bar{t} \bar{t} sm3 Šm^c+T3-M \bar{h} w p \bar{h} r h3 \bar{t} nb
m \bar{h} 4 šsp 2 \bar{d} b^c 2^{2/3}

appearance of the dual king; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt; circumambulating the wall

4 cubits, 2 palms, two-and-two-thirds fingers

Netjerikhet's first year

Although the length of the king's first year is not stated, we may deduce that nine months and twelve days elapsed between his accession and the beginning of the next calendar year. The absence of this information is almost certainly due to the lack of space available to the engraver (Jéquier 1906a: 60). Only the most important events were recorded for the king's first year: the usual ceremonies associated with the accession and coronation.

PS r.V.9

$h^c(t)$ -nswt-b \bar{t} \bar{t} [\bar{t}]bs-nswt [r] snwt(\bar{t})
m \bar{h} 4 šsp 1^{2/3}

appearance of the dual king; introduction of the king (into) the *senut(i)*-shrine

4 cubits, one-and-two-thirds palms

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Netjerikhet's second year

The year is marked by the ritual 'appearance of the dual king', repeating an event that had occurred in the previous year as part of the accession/coronation ceremonies. This duplication is unprecedented in the annals. If based upon sound historical evidence, it may suggest that on this occasion it was felt necessary to enhance and emphasise the legitimacy of the new king (perhaps belonging to a different branch of the royal family, later identified as the Third Dynasty) by ritual means. Alternatively, there may be a more prosaic explanation. To judge from the annals of earlier reigns (with the exception of Den), alternate years were marked either by the 'appearance of the king' or by the 'following of Horus'. Both events were highly symbolic and emphasised the authority of the king over his people. Since the last 'following of Horus' of the previous reign had taken place in the king's sixteenth year, the next occurrence of this particular event would normally have taken place two years later. However, this year was marked by the change of reign, and hence the ceremonies associated with the accession and coronation of a new king. The effect of this was to postpone the first 'following of Horus' of the new reign until the king's third year, in order to maintain the biennial nature of the event. In the absence of a 'following of Horus', the other periodic royal ceremony, namely the 'appearance of the king', was the natural event to mark the new king's second year. It just so happens that, as part of the regular accession/coronation ceremonies, the 'appearance of the dual king' had already been celebrated in the king's first year; hence the duplication of the ritual. To summarise, the reason for the duplication may be simply that the change of reign occurred in a year which would usually have been marked by the 'following of Horus'.

In the second entry for the year, the word *ibs* seems to be an archaic writing of *bs*, 'introduce, install, enter' (Schäfer 1902: 28, after Naville 1903: 74). The building named *snwt(ỉ)* occurs more than once in the annals (see also PS v.I.2, PS v.III.1, PS v.IV.3, CF4 r.U.2 and CF5 r.L.3). It seems to have been a sacred building, and is associated with a number of deities, including Ra and Min (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1930: 152–3). Inscriptions from the Old Kingdom and

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

later periods show the word *snwt*(*ī*) with the determinative of a pair of stelae, decorated with snakes (Kees 1922: 122; cf. Hawass 1994). Hence, the *senut*(*i*)-shrine seems to have been a building whose entrance was marked by a pair of such ‘snake-stelae’ (Kees 1922: 121; cf. Roccati 1982: 39 n. (c)). The snakes would doubtless have performed a protective function, but there is also a suggestion that they represented the rejuvenating power of the earth, and transmitted this power to the king, especially during the *sed*-festival (Wildung 1984). Certainly, the *senut*(*i*)-shrine is closely associated in religious and royal texts with the national shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *pr-wr* and the *pr-nw* (Kees 1922: 122; Wildung 1984; Claggett 1989: 121 n. 35), which are known to have played an important part in the *sed*-festival proceedings. As for the location of the *senut*(*i*)-shrine, Heliopolis seems to be a prime candidate, to judge from Middle Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period sources (Kees 1922: 125, 135). This would accord well with the other evidence that the religious activities of Lower Egypt in general, and Heliopolis in particular, feature prominently in the annals.

PS r.V.10

šms-Ḥr mst Mnw
mḥ 2 šsp 3 db^c 2³/₄

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Min
 2 cubits, 3 palms, two-and-three-quarters fingers

Netjerikhet’s third year

This year saw the resumption of the regular ‘following of Horus’ after a break of three years associated with the end of one reign and the accession of a new king. The creation of an image of Min repeats an event already attested in the reign of Djer (PS r.II.9).

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS r.V.11

h^c(t)-nswt-bỉỉỉ pđ-šs qbḥ-nṯrw
mḥ 3 šsp 3 đb^cwỉ

appearance of the dual king; stretching the cord (at the building) ‘fountain of the gods’

3 cubits, 3 palms, two fingers

Netjerikhet’s fourth year

The identity of the building called ‘fountain of the gods’ is not known. Remarkably few monuments are attested from Netjerikhet’s reign, with the notable exception of his Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara. That complex itself may be indicated here, although a temple is perhaps a more likely candidate. The only surviving religious building of the reign is a small shrine at Heliopolis (Wilkinson 1999: 316), which was apparently dedicated to the Heliopolitan ennead (group of nine gods). A reference to a Heliopolitan shrine would accord well with the general Memphite bias of the annals.

PS r.V.12

šms-Ḥr ...
mḥ 3

‘following of Horus’; ...

3 cubits

Netjerikhet’s fifth year

The bottom half of the compartment is destroyed, and we cannot tell which event accompanied the regular ‘following of Horus’.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Sixth Register (Sneferu)

The sixth register falls entirely within the reign of Sneferu. Indeed, it is probable that the entries for Sneferu's reign spanned the sixth and (now lost) seventh registers of the original annals stone (Helck 1974a; Krauss 1996: 45–6; *contra* Kaiser 1961). With the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, the quantity of information available to the compilers seems to have increased markedly (Maspero 1912: 423). This is reflected in the greatly increased size of the individual year compartments, which record several events in place of the abbreviated entries for the kings in r.II–V. It has been suggested that the greater quantity of information recorded for the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties 'is not unconnected with the rise of a quasi-numerical system of designating the regnal [sic] years, so that the text itself is freed from the purpose of simply giving an event by which the year can be named' (Clagett 1989: 53). Certainly, the increased compartment width meant that all but the shortest reigns of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties spanned more than one register (Krauss 1996: 46). The regular 'following of Horus', a feature of the annals relating to the first three dynasties, seems to have been discontinued from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Sethe 1903: 72).

PS r.VI.1

... [mst] s3tī-[bīt]ī

...

... creating 'the two royal children'

...

Sneferu (his twelfth year?)

Very little is preserved of this entry, but from the surviving traces it may have recorded the same event as r.II.5, namely 'creating (images of) 'the two royal

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

children''. Roccati (1982: 39) interpreted *s3tī-bīī* in this entry as the name given to a pair of royal barks.

PS r.VI.2

*šd dšr mr(w) dw3-t3wī mh-100 sīstīw?-dp[t]-nswt 60 hwi? Nhs īnt sqr(w)-^cnḥ
7000 ^cwt? 200,000 qd īnb rsī t3-mḥw hwwt-Snfrw īnt dpt 40 mh? ^cš
mh 2 db ^cwī*

building a 100-cubit 'adoring the two lands' boat and 60 'sixteener' royal boats (of) cedar; smiting Nubia, bringing (in tribute) 7000 male and female live captives, 200,000 sheep and goats; building the wall of the south and north-land (called) 'the mansions of Sneferu'; bringing 40 ships laden? (with) pine-wood 2 cubits, two fingers

Sneferu (his thirteenth year?)

The references to ship-building in this and the following year indicate that this was a major activity for the court. It probably reflected Egypt's new status as an inquisitive and acquisitive regional power in the eastern Mediterranean. Although the timber trade between Byblos and Egypt almost certainly began rather earlier, it was in the early Fourth Dynasty that it became a regular and important part of the Egyptian economy. The wood used for ship-building in this entry is *mr(w)*. The word is usually translated as 'cedar', but it may have been used at first to denote Asiatic conifers in general. (Oil from the *mrw*-tree is mentioned on an alabaster vessel and a label from the reign of Aha, at the beginning of the First Dynasty (Petrie 1901: pl. 10.2; Kaplony 1963:308; Ward 1991:14); and on a pottery vessel from the Early Dynastic cemetery of Abu Umuri (Kaplony 1964: no. 1065).) We do not know what type of ship was denoted by the term *dw3-t3wī*, but these craft were evidently 100 cubits (52.4 m) in length; the construction of such sizeable vessels would certainly have required large amounts of timber. It is not clear why the boats referred to as *sīstīw-dpt-nswt*, 'sixteener royal boats',

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

were so named; they may have been sixteen-oared barks (Jones 1988: 144) or boats with a length of sixteen 10-cubit measures (Roccati 1982: 39 n. (f)). Similarly named ships attested in Old Kingdom inscriptions include *mdtī*, ‘ten-barge’ and *hmnīw*, ‘eight-boats’ (Jones 1988: 140, 142).

The reference to a punitive raid against Nubia may reflect no more than the ritual duty of kingship to smite Egypt’s enemies. However, it is possible that Sneferu did, in reality, launch military campaigns against Lower Nubia from the Egyptian base at Buhen. The early town at Buhen seems to date back to the early Old Kingdom, and its foundation may mark the beginning of regular Egyptian involvement in this part of the Upper Nile valley. The tribute said to have been brought back from Nubia follows the standard pattern for booty: live captives and livestock, the latter designated by the generic term *wt*, ‘small cattle’ (i.e. sheep and goats). The numbers are probably no more than symbolic; they should not be taken literally (but cf. Malek 1986: 98 for an alternative view).

The building project described as ‘building the wall of the south and north-land [called] “the mansions of Sneferu”’ may refer to the construction of fortifications at Egypt’s borders. Indeed, the ‘wall of the south-land’ may be a reference to the establishment of a fortified settlement at Buhen in Lower Nubia. The location of the ‘wall of the north-land’ is more difficult to guess. Whether this event records a real event or merely reflects the ideology of kingship, it seems to indicate that the territorial integrity and security of Egypt were major concerns of the court in the reign of Sneferu.

The final event recorded for this year returns to the theme of ship-building. This time, it records the arrival in Egypt of 40 ships laden with timber, presumably from Byblos. The wood in question is not *mrw*, but another coniferous wood called *š*. This is possibly fir. (Products of the *š*-tree are mentioned on stone vessels from the reign of Anedjib (Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 3.6–7; Kaplony 1963:306; Ward 1991:13), and on two Second Dynasty stone slabs from Helwan/el-Maasara (Saad 1957:19). A type of oil or resin obtained from the *š*-tree, called *stt*, is attested on a Third Dynasty stela in Brooklyn

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

(James 1974:11), while the early Third Dynasty tomb of Hesira at Saqqara mentions both ^cš and *stt* oils (Altenmüller 1976:3, 13; Ward 1991:13.)

PS r.VI.3

*irt ḥwt-z? 35 š-k3 122 šd dšr ^cš dw3-t3w? mḥ-100 mr(w) mḥ-100 2 zp 7 tnwt
mḥ 5 šsp 1 db^c*

creating 35 estates with people? (and) 122 cattle-farms; building a 100-cubit
'adoring the Two Lands' boat (of) pine, and two 100-cubit boats (of) cedar;
seventh occasion of the census
5 cubits, 1 palm, one finger

Sneferu (his fourteenth year?)

The year begins with an entry of uncertain translation, which apparently refers to the foundation of royal estates, probably in the Delta (Lehner 1997: 228). Breasted (1906a: 66) offered the translation 'making 35 houses'. The sign translated here as 'estate' shows the usual rectangle (*ḥwt*) with two further signs inside (*z* and *t*). While the latter is probably the phonetic complement for *ḥwt*, the meaning of the *z*-sign is unclear, unless it refers to 'men' or 'people' (*z*), giving a compound noun **ḥwt-z*. Hence, the most plausible translation is 'estates with people' (Malek 1986: 68), referring to agricultural estates staffed with dependent farm-workers. These foundations were accompanied by cattle-farms, again intended to provide regular supplies and offerings for the king's mortuary cult. (Note, once again, the use of the term *š* to designate a royal land-holding, as in PS r.III.4.) Roccati (1982: 40) offered a very different translation for this entry: 'l'année où l'on a fait 35 grandes demeures, et reçu 122 bêtes'. Roccati's translation seems less plausible than the one offered here, given our current knowledge of early Old Kingdom elite culture and royal activities.

After these references to cult foundations, ship-building is once again the main theme of the entry. Once again, the text records the construction of *dw3-t3w?*

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

boats; on this occasion, however, they are said to have been built from 𓆎 (usually translated as ‘pine’, although Malek (1986: 68) gives the less specific translation ‘conifer wood’) rather than *mrw* (‘cedar’). Cedar wood was used for a different class of vessel, described simply as ‘100-cubit boats’. How these differed from the *dw3-t3w1* boats of the same length cannot be determined.

This year is further identified as the seventh occasion of the census. If the first occasion of the census took place in the king’s second year (following the usual accession ceremonies in his first year), then it follows that the year recorded in PS r.VI.3 will have been Sneferu’s fourteenth. The absence of a census in the preceding year suggests that, up to this point in Sneferu’s reign, a census of the country’s wealth was still carried out in alternate years.

PS r.VI.4

*sḥḥ q(3ḏ)-ḥḏt Snfrw tp(ḏ)-r sbḥt rsḏ (q3ḏ-)dšrt Snfrw tp(ḏ)-r sbḥt mḥtt ḏrt 𓆎w 𓆎ḥ-
nswt 𓆎z 8 ḏnwt
mḥ 2 šsp 2 dbḥ 2³/₄*

erecting (the building) ‘Sneferu high of the white crown’ (at) the base? of the southern gateway, (and the building) ‘Sneferu (high of) the red crown’ (at) the base? of the northern gateway; making doors for the royal palace (of) pine; eighth occasion of the census
2 cubits, 2 palms, two-and-three-quarters fingers

Sneferu (his fifteenth year?)

The main events of the year concern royal building works. The nature of the buildings named ‘Sneferu high of the white crown’ and ‘Sneferu high of the red crown’ is not known. Their stated location, at the base of the southern and northern gateways respectively, adds little to the picture. The expression *tp-r(3)* can be used to denote the base of a triangle or the radius of a circle (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1931: 287), but here may mean the ‘base’ of the gateway, in other

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

words, the place at the foot of the gate towers (compare the location of New Kingdom royal statues at the ‘base’ of temple pylons). From the names and positions of the two structures, they were most probably sacred, temple buildings, each emphasising one half of the geographic duality over which the king ruled. A more straightforward building project is mentioned next: making doors for the royal palace from pine wood. Clearly, then, imported timber was not reserved for ship-building, but was used in other royal projects as well. We may imagine that the doors of the royal palace were large and impressive, perhaps comparable to the famous doors from an Assyrian royal palace at Balawat, reconstructed in the British Museum.

Until Sneferu’s fifteenth year, the census of the country’s wealth — which, as far as can be deduced from the surviving annals, was probably instituted some time in the Second Dynasty — seems to have been recorded (if not actually carried out) every second year. Now, for the first time, the regular pattern is broken. Thus the eighth occasion of the census follows immediately the seventh occasion. Much has been made of this apparent change in the frequency of the census, with scholars advancing various hypotheses. Daressy (1916: 197) suggested that the ‘eighth occasion’ referred not to the usual census but to the inventory of the king’s property, attested on the verso (see commentary to PS v.III.1 below). However, the orthography of the entry makes this hypothesis highly unlikely. Spalinger (1994: 281) suggested that the seventh occasion of the census may have been delayed by a year because, following the entry in PS r.VI.2, Sneferu ‘was occupied with a war in Nubia and the regular pattern of a biennial census could have been interrupted’. He argued that there was a genuine interruption in the sequence of counts, which only ‘resumed their normal biennial regularity with the 8th’ (Spalinger 1994: 281). It is impossible to say whether the entry as preserved reflects an actual change in the administrative practice of the census itself, a scribal copying error, or an error in the sources from which the annals were compiled. A scribal error was certainly favoured by O’Mara (1979: 94), who argued that this explanation was more likely than a rescheduling of the count; and the regularity of the biennial census seems to have been re-established

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

by the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, to judge from the entries on the verso of the annals. However, there is good contemporary evidence — in the form of building graffiti from the pyramid at Maidum and the ‘Red Pyramid’ at Dahshur (Krauss 1996: 47; cf. Spalinger 1994) — to indicate that the census was carried out at irregular intervals (either annually or biennially) during Sneferu’s reign. The PS entries may therefore represent an accurate historical record, on this point at least.

PS r.VI.5

... *ns[wt]* ...

...

... of the king ...

...

Seventh Register

Only a tiny fragment of the top of the seventh register survives. It shows the female determinative which would have marked the name of the king’s mother at the end of his titulary. This indicates that most of the seventh register was occupied by a different king, namely Sneferu’s successor Khufu. We may also assume that Khufu’s reign spanned more than one register, and hence that the original annals stone will have comprised at least eight registers on the recto.

Most scholars have assumed that the titulary at the top of r.VII was inscribed in a titulary band (like those running above r.II–VI). However, Helck (1974a: 33–4) made a convincing case for an alternative interpretation (supported by Krauss 1996: 45). According to his argument, the surviving traces of r.VII indicate that the king’s titulary was inscribed in a horizontal line along the top of the king’s first year compartment (like the titulary of Neferirkara in PS v.IV.3). In other words, r.VII did not have its own titulary band: since the reign of Sneferu spanned

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

r.VI–VII, there was no need to repeat the titular band at the top of r.VII. As we have seen, this theory has important implications for reconstructions of the annals.

...

[(his) mother ...]

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Verso

The entries on the verso are significantly different in character from those on the recto. First, each year occupies a much broader compartment, with many more entries listed. This no doubt reflects the greater quantity of information pertaining to the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties that was available to the compilers of the annals. Second, the events listed are of a different type from those on the recto. In place of the royal works, rituals, and festivals so common in the annals of the first three dynasties (and the reign of Sneferu), we have lists of pious donations made by the kings to important cult temples and royal mortuary foundations. This seems to reflect a change in the way Egyptian kingship saw and presented itself in the Fifth Dynasty. Instead of gaining authority from ancient royal rituals and ceremonies, the king now stressed piety towards the gods, and the sun god in particular, as the index of his legitimacy. The recipients of royal donations very much reflect the Memphite bias of the annals and the religious emphases of the age: the cult centre of Ra at Heliopolis and the sun temple erected by the reigning king are especially prominent.

First Register (Menkaura–Shepseskaf)

The upper part of PS v.I has been lost, but, from the indications preserved, it is clear that we have the end of one reign and the beginning of another. The identity of the second king can be established as Shepseskaf, last king of the Fourth Dynasty, since his cartouche appears in the second compartment. His predecessor, whose final, incomplete year is partially preserved in the first compartment, must therefore have been Menkaura, builder of the third pyramid at Giza.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS v.I.1

[3bd ...] sw 24

... months 24 days

Menkaura's last year

Nothing survives of this compartment other than a fragment of the enumeration of months and days of the calendar year which had elapsed when the reign of Menkaura came to an end.

change of reign

PS v.I.2

3bd ... sw 11 ḥ^c(t)-nswt-biṯ^l sm3 Šm^c+T3-Mḥw phr ḥ3 ḥnb ḥb-sšd mst Wp-w3wt 2
šms nswt nṯrw sm3 t3w^l ... [ḥnt^lw?-]š šsp st qbḥ-Špss-k3.f ... Šm^c Mḥw snwt(i) 20
hrw nb

... 1[6]24 ... [6]00

mḥ 4 šsp 3 db^c 2 1/2

... months 11 days; appearance of the dual king; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt;
circumambulating the wall; diadem-festival; creating (images of) the two

Wepwawets; following (by) the king of the gods who unite the two lands?

... provisioners? choosing the location of the pyramid 'fountain of Shepseskaf';

... the *senut(i)*-shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt: 20 every day;

... 1624 ... 600 ...

4 cubits, 3 palms, two-and-a-half fingers

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Shepseskaf's first year

The usual ceremonies associated with the accession and coronation of a new king, attested earlier in the annals, are, in this instance, accompanied by a further event, the diadem-festival (*hb-sšd*). This festival seems to have been part of the coronation rites from an early period, since it appears among the religious ceremonies connected with the coronation of Hatshepsut in texts at Deir el-Bahri, which are clearly derived from an ancient copy (Naville 1898: pl. LXIII; Breasted 1906b: 99). The word *sšd* itself is usually translated 'diadem', but may be more accurately rendered 'headband', 'fillet (of cloth)'. It is first attested on a granite block from the small step pyramid of Huni at Elephantine, which bears the inscription *sšd-nswt-H(wi)*, '(palace named) diadem of King Huni' (Seidlmayer 1996: 119–20, 122, 124). The diadem-festival was the rite in which the new king was adorned with items of the royal regalia, representing his assumption of the office of kingship (Barta 1980). Presumably, one such item of regalia was a cloth headband with which the king was ceremonially invested.

The second column of text records the creation of an image of Wepwawet (*wp-w3wt*, literally 'opener of the ways'), the jackal deity who preceded the king in formal situations and literally 'opened the ways' before the ruler. The determinative (Wepwawet and the *shedshed*-device on a standard) is written twice, probably indicating that two identical images of the god were created. The precise symbolism behind this duality is not entirely clear, but it probably reflected the concept of duality running throughout the ideology of kingship, as expressed in other accession/coronation ceremonies such as the 'appearance of the dual king' and the 'unification of Upper and Lower Egypt'. There follows a rather obscure reference to a ritual procession in which the king followed 'the gods who unite the Two Lands'. These may have been the cult images of the deities which gathered together at the Residence for the coronation of the new king and the accompanying ritual reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The text at the beginning of the third column is lost, but the remaining signs seem to mention the *hntw-š*, apparently associated with the king's funerary cult. The archive of papyri from the mortuary temple of Neferirkara at Abusir make

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

frequent mention of the *hntꜥw-š*, who seem to have been ‘provisioners’, responsible for delivering revenue to the royal mortuary temple. They were apparently closely linked with the *r-š*, an institution mentioned in the annals of Sahura (see commentary to PS v.III.1). Here, the *hntꜥw-š* may have played a part in choosing the location of Shepseskaf’s funerary monument, unless the upper and lower parts of the text have no connection. (Note that Clagett (1989: 87) translates this entry ‘the establishing of the estate of the garden lake’, which seems to misinterpret the meaning of *hntꜥw-š*.) The ‘pyramid’ called ‘fountain of Shepseskaf’ is, in fact, not a pyramid at all, but a sarcophagus-shaped funerary monument at South Saqqara, known by its Arabic name Mastabat el-Fara’un. It represented a radical departure from the established conventions of royal mortuary architecture, a new direction that was just as swiftly abandoned, in the following reign, in favour of more traditional forms. The reasons behind the change of design are not known.

The reference to the *senut(i)*-shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt — once again demonstrating the close connection between *snwt(i)*, *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* — probably belongs at the end of an entry detailing the pious donations made by Shepseskaf to various royal foundations. The quantity of the donation is preserved (‘20 every day’) but the commodity involved — probably bread-and-beer offerings or cattle and fowl — is lost, having been recorded in the missing upper part of the text column.

The numerals in the fifth column almost certainly refer to quantities of commodities donated by the king to different recipients. Although the damage to the top left corner of the verso means that part of the first group of numerals is lost, the arrangement of the signs within the group makes it highly likely that it originally recorded the number 1624. Likewise, the second group of numerals probably recorded the number 600.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Second Register (Userkaf)

The second register falls entirely within the reign of Userkaf, first king of the Fifth Dynasty. The whole of one year is preserved, together with the very end of the preceding year and the very beginning of the succeeding year. The second register thus gives us an approximate width for — it is assumed — an average year compartment in this part of the annals. The complete year is dated by the ‘third occasion of the cattle census’. Since the cattle count was carried out in alternate years, the first such census occurring in the king’s second year, we can deduce that the three years of Userkaf present on PS were his fifth, sixth and seventh years.

A band above the second register probably contained the king’s full titulary; this would have been positioned above the centre of his year compartments on the missing portion.

PS v.II.1

[*zp?*] 3 *g[m]t pr-Hr-Sth*

...

third (occasion?) of (making) the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth

...

Userkaf’s fifth year

Only fragmentary traces of a few signs, from the very end of the compartment, are preserved on the extreme right-hand edge of the stone. By analogy with the annals for the fifth year of Userkaf’s successor Sahura (PS v.III.1), the entry can be restored with some certainty as ‘third occasion of (making) the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth. (For the significance of this event, see the commentary to PS v.III.1 below.) For reasons not given, Roccati (1982: 44) translates this entry as ‘la troisième fois de trouver la pierre (?) [à Éléphantine]’.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS v.II.2

nswt-btī Wsr-k3.f īr.n.f m mnw.f n
b3w īwnw t hnqt (/p3t?) 20 m snwt nbt 3ht st3t 36 rmn ḥsb s3? hnt ...t nt Wsr-
k3.f
ntrw zp-r^c (3ht) st3t 24 k3 2 zt 2 r^c nb
R^c 3ht st3t 44 m sp3wt T3-Mḥw
Hwt-Hr (3ht) st3t 44
ntrw pr Db^cwt (3ht) st3t 54 s^ch^c db(3)t hwt-ntr.f P H3sw
Hr (3ht) st3t 2 qd (īnb?) hwt-ntr.f
Nḥbtī ntrī Šm^c t hnqt (/p3t?) 10 hrw nb
W3dt pr-nw (t hnqt) 10 (hrw nb)
ntrw ntrī Šm^c t hnqt) 48 (hrw nb)
zp 3 tnwt k3
mḥ 4 db^c 2 1/2

the dual king Userkaf: he made as his endowment for:

the souls of Heliopolis:

20 (measures of) offering-bread and -beer at every 'sixth'-festival;
 arouras of arable land: $36 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$? (i.e. $36\frac{7}{8}$) arouras from the ...
 (estate) of Userkaf;

the gods of (the sun temple) 'occasion of Ra':

24 arouras (of arable land) (from the ... (estate) of Userkaf);
 two oxen (and) two pintail ducks every day;

Ra:

arouras of arable land: 44 arouras in the nomes of Lower Egypt;

Hathor:

44 arouras (of arable land in the nomes of Lower Egypt);

the gods of the estate of Djebaut:

54 arouras (of arable land) (and) erecting a pedestal (in) his temple (in) Pe
 of the Xoite nome;

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Horus:

2 arouras (of arable land) (and) building (the wall of?) his temple;

Nekhbet of the god's-palace of Upper Egypt:

ten (measures of) offering-bread and -beer every day;

Wadjet of the *per-nu*:

ten (measures of offering-bread and -beer every day);

the gods of the god's-palace of Upper Egypt:

48 (measures of offering-bread and -beer every day)

third occasion of the cattle census

4 cubits, two-and-a-half fingers

Userkaf's sixth year

As is the case in every compartment in the Fifth Dynasty section of the annals, the entries for the year are prefaced by the phrase 'the dual king N: he made as his endowment for ...'. This is then followed by the various recipients of the king's bounty, together with details of the donations made. One feature of the text on the verso is its arrangement in columns within a year compartment. Often, a single line of text bridges (and hence applies to) two or more columns above or below. This makes for a very concise method of recording complex donations of offerings and land to a variety of recipients. The word *mnw*, usually translated 'monument', here refers to the donation of land and offerings made by the king to a particular deity or religious institution. Hence, the translation 'endowment' seems more appropriate.

The first recipient of donations is the body called 'the souls of Heliopolis' (*b3w 3wnw*). The precise significance of this grouping of deities remains elusive. Similar groupings were associated at an early period with Pe (Buto) and Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), and the same idea may have been applied at a later date to Heliopolis, once it had become an important (if not pre-eminent) cult centre in the Old Kingdom (Beinlich 1984). There may have been some theological connection between the 'souls of Heliopolis' and the ennead (*psdt*), another grouping of gods at Heliopolis (cf. Griffiths 1959: 37, quoting Kees).

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

In Userkaf's sixth year, according to this entry, the 'souls of Heliopolis' received food offerings (of bread and beer). These were delivered on the specific occasion of the 'sixth'-festival (*snwt*). The arrangement of the signs, with the numeral for 'six' framed by two *s*-signs, is unusual (cf. the different writings of this festival given in Barta 1969: 74–5), but the reading is secure. The meaning of *snwt* is 'sixth', derived from *sꜥs/srs* (the number 'six') plus the feminine ordinal suffix *nwt* (Barta 1969: 73). Usually interpreted as the festival celebrated on the sixth day of the lunar month (e.g. Faulkner 1991: 230; Altenmüller 1977: 173; Roccati 1982: 44; Clagett 1989: 88), the *snwt*-festival may originally have been connected with the solar cult. Certainly, in the Pyramid Texts, the *snwt*-festival is associated with Heliopolis (PT §716), cult centre of the sun god, and it was celebrated at the site of *Hr(ꜥ)-ḥ3* (Greek Babylon — cf. PS v.IV.3), a little to the south (PT §1062c). It has been suggested that the name of the festival refers to the sixth (and final) part of the eye of Ra, and that the festival celebrated the return of the solar eye at the summer solstice (Barta 1969: 77–8). However, there are indications that the *snwt*-festival was celebrated monthly at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, even if it was, in origin, an annual event (Winter 1970). The reference to the *snwt*-festival here in PS v.II.2 emphasises, once again, the Lower Egyptian — and specifically Heliopolitan — bias of the annals as a whole.

In addition to bread and beer, the king endowed the 'souls of Heliopolis' with land from one of his estates (again the precise reading of the signs is difficult). The amount of land is recorded in units and fractions of the *aroura* (see below). It is likely that the sign which shows a pintail duck flying (Gardiner 1957: sign-list G40) should be read as the standing pintail duck *s3* (Gardiner sign-list G39), designating one-eighth of an *aroura*.

The standard Egyptian unit of land area was the *sꜥ3t* (in translations Egyptologists generally use the Greek equivalent 'aroura'). This was a measure of '100 cubits squared, i.e. 2735 square metres, or roughly $\frac{2}{3}$ acre' (Gardiner 1957: 200). Throughout PS v.II.2, the word for 'aroura' is repeated for clarification. The heading gives the general designation *3ḥt sꜥ3t*, 'arouras of arable land', the latter term written with the recumbent jackal (Gardiner sign-list E15; cf. Erman and

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Grapow (eds) 1930: 356) and the bolt-and-cord sign *st3* (Gardiner sign-list V2); the individual entries below repeat the word *st3t*, this time written with the pool (Gardiner sign-list N37), and in one case with the pool, the bolt-and-cord, plus three plural strokes (to give the sense ‘arouras’).

Next are listed the king’s donations to the ‘gods of (the sun temple) ‘occasion of Ra’’. This must have been the name given to the sun temple built by Userkaf between the pyramids of Abusir and Abu Ghurab, and which is the earliest preserved sun temple in Egypt. The sun temple was in reality a building intimately connected with the king’s mortuary cult, despite its explicit dedication to the sun god (compare the mortuary temples of New Kingdom rulers which were explicitly dedicated to forms of the supreme deity of the time, Amun-Ra). According to this compartment of the annals, Userkaf endowed his sun temple with daily supplies of oxen and geese, and with a grant of land from one of his estates.

The land donated to Ra (presumably his cult centre at Heliopolis) and Hathor (the location of her cult centre at this period is not certain) was apparently situated ‘in the nomes of Lower Egypt’, in other words the Delta. The abundant fertile land of the Delta was appropriated for royal estates from the earliest times: many, if not all, of the royal foundations attested in First Dynasty inscriptions seem to have been located in the Delta (Wilkinson 1999: 117).

It is far from clear which deities comprised the ‘gods of the Djebaut shrine’, although we know that the shrine itself was located at Buto and was of great antiquity. It seems originally to have been dedicated to a local heron deity, though by the Old Kingdom it may well have taken on different connotations. Given the location of the Djebaut shrine, it is entirely logical that the pedestal (?) donated by Userkaf to the gods of the shrine should have been located at Pe, one of the twin settlements which comprised ancient Buto. The word *db3t* may be translated ‘shrine’ or ‘coffin’ but also seems to have been used to denote the granite pedestal on which a god’s shrine was set up in his temple (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1931: 561). The juxtaposition of the words *db^cwt* and *db3t* may represent an intentional word-play by the annalists. The standard of the sixth Lower Egyptian nome (the

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Xoïte nome), showing a cow and a mountain, has been read *H3sw*, following a writing at Luxor. It seems to mean ‘bull of the mountain’ (Helck 1974b: 163–7), but the significance of this name is unknown. According to PS v.II.2, the town of Pe is located in the sixth Lower Egyptian nome. The nome boundaries in the Delta seem to have been somewhat fluid (Helck 1974b: 164), and in later periods Buto belonged to the fifth (Saïte) Lower Egyptian nome (Baines and Málek 1980: 15).

Some scholars have identified the falcon on a perch as ‘Sepa’, a form of Horus, rather than the god Horus himself (e.g. Schäfer 1902; Clagett 1989: 89, 139 n. 102).

The ‘god’s palace of Upper Egypt’, associated here with the goddess Nekhbet, was possibly, in origin, the shrine of the white crown at Hierakonpolis, opposite Nekhbet’s cult centre at Elkab (Arnold 1982b); later, when it became fused with the *per-wer*, its association with Upper Egypt may have been purely symbolic. Likewise, the *per-nu*, the archetypal Lower Egyptian shrine with which the goddess Wadjet is associated, may originally have been at Buto (or, more specifically, Pe), where Wadjet had her cult centre, even if its location was less fixed in later periods (Arnold 1982a). The hieroglyph for *pr-nw* suggests that the original building was of mudbrick construction, with a domed roof. We do not know the identity or significance of the ‘gods of the god’s palace of Upper Egypt’; they must be connected in some way with the ideology of kingship.

We can see that the recipients of royal endowments were those cults which had a particularly close ideological connection with the kingship. The souls of Heliopolis were linked geographically to the cult temple of Ra. Ra himself was the god most intimately associated with the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, who expressed their piety by building sun temples and adopting throne names which included the name of the sun god. Hathor (*hwt-Hr*, literally ‘mansion (i.e. mother) of Horus’) was associated with kingship through her connection with Horus, the god of whom the king was the living incarnation. The Djebaut shrine at Buto is attested on bone labels as early as the Naqada III period, and it seems to have been a major focus of royal attention in the early First Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999:

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

fig. 8.10). Buto itself had clearly been an important site in the Predynastic period, and the prominence of the Djebaut shrine in the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom may reflect the desire of Egypt's early kings to absorb significant local cults into a nationally-conceived ideology of kingship. The 'Two Ladies', Nekhbet and Wadjet, although local deities of Elkab and Buto, were revered as the two tutelary goddesses, representing Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt respectively. As an element of the royal titulary, the 'Two Ladies' represented the geographical aspect of the many dualities the king embodied (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 203–5).

The census, at first an unspecified audit and subsequently said to be 'of fields and gold', has now become specifically a 'census of cattle' (cf. Spalinger 1994: 278). The count may have been restricted to herds; but, more likely, cattle were chosen to symbolise the total agricultural wealth of Egypt (as they do in Old Kingdom tomb scenes).

PS v.II.3

[*nswt-bt* *Wsr-k3.f* *ir.n.f m mnw.f n*] ... [3] *ht st3t* 1704[+x] *rmn hsb* 3? *mḥ* 10 *m*
T3-M[hw]

...

...

[the dual king Userkaf: he made as his endowment for:] ... 1704[+x] +¹/₂ +³/₄(?)
+¹⁰/₁₀₀ arouras
of arable land in Lower Egypt ...

...

Userkaf's seventh year

Little remains of the entries for this year, except a partially-preserved reference to an area of arable land donated to an unknown recipient. (Malek (1986:79) identifies the recipient as Ra, though without supporting evidence.) The area of

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

land is difficult to restore with certainty, but the signs seem to indicate: one thousand, at least seven hundreds (Claggett (1989: 89) suggests eight hundreds), four units, one half, three(?) quarters, and ten hundredths (of an aroura), making a total of $1705\frac{7}{20}$ arouras. There appear to be three strokes under the sign for one-quarter (*hsb*), yet it is difficult to see why $1\frac{1}{4}$ would be expressed as $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{3}{4}$. The partial preservation of the signs makes it impossible to resolve this problem.

Some scholars (e.g. Roccati 1982: 45; Claggett 1989: 89) have read the name of the god Min at the edge of this fragmentary compartment, but this cannot be confirmed by first-hand examination of PS verso.

Third Register (Sahura)

The surviving part of PSv.III comprises annals from the reign of Sahura, second king of the Fifth Dynasty. The larger part of one year is preserved, together with the first column of text of the following year. From the number of the cattle count, we can establish that the compartments relate to Sahura's fifth and sixth years. The band above the third register probably contained the king's full titulary. Once again, it must have been located on the lost portion of annals.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PS v.III.1

[nswt-bꜣt]ꜣ S3ḥw-R^c ꜣr.n.f m mnw.f n
... m ꜣIwnw z3-... w3b 200 ... wꜣ3-ntr? ... zḥnt?
Nḥbt pr-wr ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw 800
W3dt pr-nz(r) (ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw) 4800
R^c m snwt(ꜣ) (ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw) 138
(R^c m) ꜣḥ-ntr Šm^c (ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw) 40
(R^c m) tp ḥwt (ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw) 74
Ḥwt-Ḥr šḥt-R^c (ḥtpt-ntr ḥrt-hrw) 4
R^c šḥt-R^c Km-wr 3ḥt st3t ḥ3 2 +4
ms? ꜣnd.tꜣ (3ḥt st3t) 2(00?)
sm? (3ḥt st3t) 2(00?)
Ḥnt(ꜣ)-ꜣ3wt.f ꜣnb-ḥd (3ḥt st3t) 2(00?) ḥ3 2 +8 ḥsb +1/8?
Ḥwt-Ḥr m S3ḥw-R^c-ḥ^c-b3 r-š ꜣ3bt (3ḥt st3t) 2(00?) ḥ3 2 +6 ḥsb mh 4
(Ḥwt-Ḥr m S3ḥw-R^c-ḥ^c-b3 r-š) LE7 (3ḥt st3t) 1(00?)
k3 ḥd ḥnt-ꜣ3bt st3t 13 ḥ3 2 ḥsb mh 2
zp 3 gmt pr-Ḥr-Šth rnpt (m-)ḥt zp 2 tnwt
mh 2 db^c 2 1/4

[the dual king] Sahura: he made as his endowment for:

... in Heliopolis:

the son [of Ra]? ... 200 *wab*-priests ... the divine bark? ...

Nekhbet of the *per-wer*: 800 divine offerings daily;

Wadjet of the *per-nezer*: 4800 (divine offerings daily);

Ra in:

the *senut(i)*-shrine: 138 (divine offerings daily);

the god's palace of Upper Egypt: 40 (divine offerings daily);

the roof?: 74 (divine offerings daily);

Hathor of (the sun temple) 'field of Ra': 4 (divine offerings daily)

Ra of (the sun temple) 'field of Ra':

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

24 arouras of arable land in the tenth nome of Lower Egypt;
mes?: 2(00?) (arouras of arable land) in the Busiris nome;
sem?: 2(00?) (arouras of arable land in the Busiris nome);
Khent(i)-iautef:
2(00?)+20+8+ $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$? (i.e. $228\frac{3}{8}$) (arouras of arable land) in the Memphite
nome;
Hathor in the *r-š* of (the pyramid) ‘Sahura is risen as a *ba*’:
2(00?)+20+6+ $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{4}{100}$ (i.e. $226\frac{29}{100}$) (arouras of arable land) (in) the
eastern region; 1(00?) (arouras of arable land) (in) the (western) harpoon
nome;
the white bull:
 $13+20+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{2}{100}$ (i.e. $33\frac{27}{100}$) (arouras of arable land) (in) the ‘foremost
of the east’ nome;
third occasion of (making) the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth; year
after the second occasion of the census
2 cubits, two-and-a-quarter fingers

Sahura’s fifth year

The surviving entries begin with the usual introductory rubric. Once again, the recipient named in first place seems to have been the body known as the ‘souls of Heliopolis’. It is difficult to make much sense of the signs that follow in the first column of text. Roccati (1982: 46) restored the text to include ‘the sons of Ra’ but this must remain speculative. As in the previous register (v.II.2), the tutelary goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet are named. In this instance, Nekhbet is associated with the *per-wer*, the archetypal shrine of Upper Egypt, perhaps originally located at Hierakonpolis, just across the Nile from Nekhbet’s cult centre of Elkab. The hieroglyph for *pr-wr* suggests a building made from reed mats, similar to the ‘Sarifenbau’ structures of the Marsh Arabs (Kuhlmann 1996). Wadjet is associated with the *per-nezer*. This was originally the shrine of the red crown at Dep, but later became fused with the *per-nu*, the archetypal shrine of Lower Egypt, which was traditionally located at Pe (Arnold 1982a).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

As befits the most important deity for the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, Ra is honoured in four separate forms corresponding to four different cult centres. The forms of Ra in the ‘*senut(i)*-shrine’, in the ‘god’s palace of Upper Egypt’, and in a location which may be translated as ‘the roof’ (perhaps an open air shrine on the roof of a temple) were endowed with daily supplies of food offerings, as was a form of Hathor worshipped in the sun temple named ‘field of Ra’. As we have seen (above, commentary to PS r.V.9), the *senut(i)*-shrine was probably located in Heliopolis, and may have been the Lower Egyptian counterpart to the ‘god’s palace of Upper Egypt’ (Kees 1922: 125). The latter building has not been identified with certainty, and may or may not have had a fixed location. The sun temple called ‘field of Ra’ must be the monument built by Sahura between Abu Ghurab and Abusir, and as yet undiscovered. The most important form of Ra, who dwelled within the sun temple, received land as an endowment from the king. Further recipients of land called *ms* and *sm* are entirely obscure, but they probably refer to deities. The fields granted to these various cults were located in the Delta, more particularly in the ninth and tenth Lower Egyptian nomes. Once again, the Delta clearly emerges as the focus of royal foundations.

The standard of the tenth Lower Egyptian nome (the area south and east of Athribis) has been read *Km-wr*, ‘great black’, apparently referring to the (black) bull shown on the standard (Helck 1974b: 175–6). (A later reading of the same standard was *ihw-wr*, ‘great bull’.) The recipient of the next endowment is written with the *ms*-sign, but the precise reading remains unclear (Roccati (1982: 47) offers ‘(Horus) the harpooner’). The identity of the god Sem is likewise obscure. The standard of the ninth Lower Egyptian nome (the area around Busiris) shows a figure of the god Osiris and, according to a writing in the Pyramid Texts (Utterance 182a), may be read ^c*nd.ti*, ‘the one belonging to the pastureland’ (an apparent reference to Osiris or to the pasturage around Busiris) (Helck 1974b: 174–5).

The orthography of the land measurements recorded in this compartment presents particular problems of interpretation. The *h3*-sign — which depicts the leaf, stalk and rhizome of a lotus (Gardiner sign-list M12) — indicates a measure

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

of ten arouras (Gardiner 1957: 200). One explanation for this apparently curious usage is that ten arouras equalled one thousand ‘cubit-area’ base units (a strip of land measuring one cubit by one hundred cubits) (Clagett 1989: 56–7). Often, the *h3*-sign is abbreviated to a single vertical stroke (Gardiner sign-list Z1). However, in two of the entries in PS v.III.1 (recording the land dedicated to *hnt(ḥ)-ḥ3wt.f* and to Hathor in the *r-ḥ*), complex land measurements combine vertical strokes and *h3*-signs with the latter in a subordinate position. This seems to suggest that the vertical stroke designates a number of arouras greater than ten. Given the decimal nature of the Egyptian numerical system, it is likely that, on PS verso at least, the vertical stroke designates one hundred arouras. (This conclusion was reached independently of Clagett (1989: 137) who argued for a primitive ‘place value concept’ in the Fifth Dynasty annals. The practical effect of Clagett’s hypothesis is also to treat the vertical strokes which precede *h3*-signs in land area measurements as indicators of one hundred arouras.) A further problem is posed by the land measurement in the penultimate column of PS v.III.1 (recording land dedicated to the ‘white bull’). The numerals for 13 (or 23 according to Clagett (1989: 91)) appear below the *st3t*-sign, but there then follow two *h3*-signs, together with various fractions of an aroura. The combination of the standard sign for ‘ten’ (the hobble for cattle, Gardiner sign-list V20) and the *h3*-sign — which is used specifically to indicate ten arouras — is highly confusing. Clagett’s ‘place value’ theory interprets this last measurement as 2300+20+fractions of an aroura (Clagett 1989: 91), but this would indicate an unrealistically large area of land to have been donated to an obscure recipient (the ‘white bull’), moreover one of many recipients honoured in a single year’s endowment. While Clagett’s theory is ingenious and certainly worthy of consideration, there remain considerable problems of interpretation when confronted by the land measurements recorded in the Fifth Dynasty annals.

The epithet *hnt(ḥ)-ḥ3wt.f* was clearly a name given to Ptah (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1926: 29; 1929: 306): the figure of this god in his shrine appears as a determinative for the epithet. However, the precise meaning of the phrase *hnt(ḥ)-ḥ3wt.f* (literally ‘foremost of his *ḥ3wt*’) escapes us. The *ḥ3wt* seem to have been

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

cultic objects (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1926: 29) used in the worship of Ptah and other deities (Gardiner (1957: 497, sign-list O44) describes the hieroglyph as an ‘emblem erected outside the temple of Min’), but what they represented is unclear. The land allocated to the cult of *hnt(ỉ)-ỉ3wt.f* was appropriately located nearby, in the Memphite nome (*ỉnb-ḥd*, the ‘white wall’). The epithet *hnt(ỉ)-ỉ3wt.f* occurs in the titles of two Old Kingdom priests of Ptah, Shepses-ptah (Fifth Dynasty) and Sabu (Sixth Dynasty), who are called *ḥm-nṯr hnt(ỉ)-ỉ3wt.f*, ‘priest of *hnt(ỉ)-ỉ3wt.f*’. It has been suggested that *hnt(ỉ)-ỉ3wt.f* was originally a separate god who, by the Old Kingdom, was understood as a manifestation of Ptah (Sandman Holmberg 1946: 173–4).

‘Sahura is risen as a *ba*’ was the name given to Sahura’s pyramid at Abusir. Today it is the best preserved of the Fifth Dynasty pyramid complexes at this site. From this entry we learn that a cult of Hathor was located within the *r-š* of the pyramid complex (cf. Breasted 1906a: 69; Malek 1986: 79). This cult was endowed with land from two sources: the east(ern Delta) and the (western) harpoon nome. The precise translation of *r(3)-š* (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1928: 399) is not clear, but the *r-š* of (Neferirkara) Kakai is frequently mentioned in the Abusir Papyri from the mortuary temple of Sahura’s successor (Posener-Kriéger and Cenival 1968). The *r-š* seems to have been an intermediary institution responsible for collecting produce from the royal domains — established to support the king’s mortuary cult — and distributing it to the various pious foundations, including the sun temple of the reigning king and his mortuary temple, and to the Residence (Jacquet-Gordon 1962). The element *š*, which occurs both in the name of the institution *r-š* and in the title of the provisioners *hntỉw-š*, was obviously a concept relating to the collection and distribution of royal revenue, although its translation remains obscure. It seems rather odd that a cult of Hathor should have been located in such an institution. Perhaps, as Malek (1986: 79) suggested, *r-š* (also) signified ‘the valley part of the pyramid-complex’ which might well have acted — in a physical sense — as the intermediary institution channelling produce from the royal domains to the king’s mortuary temple and sun temple (cf. Lehner 1997: 232). It would be plausible for the valley

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

complex to have housed the cults of important deities connected with the ideology of kingship.

The reading of the standard of the (western) harpoon nome is not clear, but seems to have incorporated *w*^c, the word for harpoon itself. Originally, the harpoon standard denoted only the western harpoon nome; in later times, when the Delta nomes were reorganised, an eastern harpoon nome was added. Henceforth, the harpoon standard was accompanied by the sign for west or east, to make it clear which nome was intended (Helck 1974b: 167–72).

The identity of the ‘white bull’ is not clear. Roccati (1982: 47) identified it as Mnevis — the bull regarded as the manifestation of Ra at Heliopolis — but this seems highly unlikely, given the fact that ‘the Mnevis bull was required to be totally black’ (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 189). The land donated to the ‘white bull’ was located in the extreme eastern part of the Delta (‘foremost of the east’), in the fourteenth Lower Egyptian nome.

Sahura’s fifth year seems to finish with the same entry as the fifth year of his predecessor: *zp 3 gmt pr-Hr-Sth*, ‘third occasion of (making) the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth’ (Daressy 1916: 175). In this case, the inscription is complete. The word *gm* usually means ‘find’, but Daressy (1916: 175 n. 3) noted that it could also refer to making an inventory. Hence, the noun *gmt* may be translated ‘inventory’. The meaning of *pr-Hr-Sth*, ‘the House-of-Horus-and-Seth’ is far from clear, although a connection with the king seems certain: the monarch was sometimes referred to, elliptically, as Horus-and-Seth, as in the title of Early Dynastic queens *m3(t) Hr-Sth*, ‘she who sees Horus-and-Seth’. The ‘House-of-Horus-and-Seth’ probably refers to the royal palace, or perhaps the larger royal estate (usually designated by the term *pr-nswt*) which supported the king and his family. Given the ancient Egyptians’ fondness for bureaucracy and recording, we might expect a regular inventory of royal property to have been an important administrative practice in the Egyptian court. It is noteworthy that the name of the god Seth is written, not with the usual Seth-animal, but with the pig, associated with the god from early times. This substitution may indicate that depiction of the Seth-animal was already taboo in certain religious contexts (Daressy 1916: 175 n.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

4). If we may draw conclusions from two consecutive reigns, the ‘third occasion of (making) the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth’ seems to have taken place regularly in the king’s fifth year. In this case, it is followed immediately by the more common year designation, a reference to the biennial census. Daressy (1916: 176) may well be correct that the juxtaposition of the two entries attests to the existence of two, parallel dating systems during the Fifth Dynasty. (See also commentary to CF1 v.III.1.)

PS v.III.2

nswt-bꜣtꜣ [S3ḥw-R^c ṯr.n.f m mnw.f n] ... psdt ... pr-ntr ? snwt(ṯ)? ṯmnt (LE3?) pr-nswt ...
mḥ 3 ...

the dual king [Sahura: he made as his endowment for:]

the ennead ...

the god’s estate ... the shrine? the king’s estate of the western region?

3 cubits, ...

Sahura’s sixth year

The standard rubric heads the entries, the first of which seems to have recorded the donation of land to the ennead (*psdt*), a group of (nine) gods most closely associated with Heliopolis. (The main cult centre of the ennead was at Babylon (Old Cairo); see commentary to PS v.IV.3.) Once again, we have an emphasis on cults and cult-places in the Memphite area. The ennead is mentioned frequently in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. §1655a–b). It is difficult to be certain about the origins of the concept (Griffiths 1959: 47–55), but traditionally, and certainly by the Fifth Dynasty, it comprised the nine gods (and four generations) of the Heliopolitan creation myth: Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys. The grouping thus combined the dual symbolism of cosmology and generational links (Brunner 1982), the latter being very important for the ideology of kingship.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Since three was the usual Egyptian plural designation, it has been argued that the number nine represented a plurality of pluralities, in other words a very large number (but note Griffiths 1959: 39).

Schäfer's publication shows no definite signs between the group *pr-ntr* and the sign for the western region/Horus (*imnt/Hr*). Naville's line drawing restores the group *snwt(i)* (the designation for a shrine) between the two. Schäfer's edition shows a small feather at the front of the perch on which the falcon stands, suggesting that this sign should be read *imnt*, 'the western region'; Naville's line drawing omits this feather, which would indicate a reading of *Hr*, 'Horus'. The context is not clear enough to decide between these two possible readings, and the sense of the text as a whole is difficult to establish, beyond the fact that it names the recipient of a royal endowment. Roccati (1982: 48) offered the following translation for the whole entry: 'L'année où le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte Sahourê fait en tant que monument de lui pour: l'Ennéade dans la maison des écrits divins, le Palais (?) et le Domaine des stèles, la Terrasse d'Horus: un terrain de ... aroures.' It is difficult to see how the surviving traces of the inscription can be restored to give this translation.

Fourth Register (Sahura–Neferirkara)

There is no titulary band separating v.III and v.IV. The most probable explanation for this is that, since the annals of Sahura began in the preceding register (v.III), there was no need to repeat the king's titulary above the subsequent register of year compartments (cf. Helck 1974a: 33). However, since the annals of Sahura finished in v.IV, it was necessary to give the titulary of his successor at the reign change, even though there was no titulary band to accommodate it. Hence, the titulary of Neferirkara appears at the top of the first year compartment of his reign. This pattern is repeated in v.V (since the reign of Neferirkara continues from v.IV). In any case, the inclusion of the king's cartouche in the standard heading of each individual year compartment in the Fifth Dynasty annals may

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

have rendered superfluous the presence of the king's full titulary in a separate band above his span of years.

The fourth register includes annals of two kings: the last year of a king who is not explicitly named but must be Sahura, and the first year of his successor Neferirkara. The numbering of Sahura's last year depends upon the reading of the cattle count. The signs are worn but the most likely reading would indicate that the year in question was the king's thirteenth.

The signs comprising the text are markedly smaller and more tightly packed than in the registers above. This part of the stone is quite worn, and there are some difficulties in restoring the original sense of the entries.

PS v.IV.1

*[nswt-bt̃ S3ḥw-R^c ṛr.n.f m] mnw.f n... R^c ṛmnt m T3-Mḥw Šm^c 3[ḥ]t [st̃3t] ...
Ḥwt-Ḥr ... pr nswt? st̃3t 2(00?) +4 ... ḥt nb[t]
ṛnt m mfk3t ḥmt? 6000? Pwnt ^cnt̃w 80,000 ḏ^cm ... 6000? w3ḏ-šsmt 2900 ...dw
23,020?
...*

[the dual king Sahura: he made as] his endowment for:

Ra of the western region:

in Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt ... [arouras of] arable land ...

Hathor ...

... the king's estate? 204? arouras (of arable land in L.E. and U.E.) ...

everything

what was brought from:

(the land of?) turquoise:

6000? measures of copper?

Punt:

80,000 (measures of) myrrh; 6000? (measures of) electrum; 2900

(measures of) malachite; 23,020 (measures of) ...du ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Sahura's last (thirteenth?) year

This year has been interpreted by many commentators (e.g. Helck 1956: 79) as Sahura's penultimate year, since there follows a narrow column of text extending the entire height of the register which enumerates the months and days of Sahura's last, incomplete year on the throne. However, this column refers to a period of some nine months, and it seems unlikely that a 'year' of the king's reign of such a length would be abbreviated in the annals to such a narrow entry. Rather, the text column may refer to the preceding entries, specifying both the number of the year (by reference to the biennial census) and how many months and days of the calendar year elapsed before the change of reign. We may compare PS v.II.2, where a separate column giving the number of the cattle count does indeed follow the descriptive entries for the year in question. The only difference in the case of PS v.IV.1 is that the column extends to the bottom of the register, but this may be explained by the fact that it also marks the end of a reign. In summary, therefore, it seems preferable to interpret PS v.IV.1 as Sahura's last year.

The signs are very worn and difficult to read. The earlier entry concerns the donation of arable land in the north and south to Ra and Hathor, two deities apparently worshipped within the king's sun temple. Roccati (1982: 48) restores a third deity to the list, namely the goddess 'Séchat de l'école de la noblesse'; this is followed by Clagett (1989: 92) who gives the three recipient cults as 'Re, Hathor, and the House of Seshat'.

The last two columns depart from the usual list of pious donations, and enumerate instead the commodities brought back from trading expeditions to foreign lands. It is unclear whether the reference to *mfk3t*, 'turquoise', concerns the stone itself or the land associated with it. The latter may be more plausible, given the likely parallel with the next column which records goods from *Pwnt*, 'Punt'. (If historically accurate, this entry would mark the earliest known reference in Egyptian sources to the land of Punt.) The land of turquoise must be the mountains of south-western Sinai, especially the area around Wadi Maghara, where the Egyptians had mined turquoise since the Third Dynasty. This region

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

also supplied the Egyptians with copper (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 71), and it is this latter commodity which may be listed here.

There is now general agreement that Punt was a land on the Red Sea coast of Africa, in the area of present-day Eritrea (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 231–2, plus references). The main commodity brought back from Punt was *ḥntw*, ‘myrrh’. Myrrh, a bitter, aromatic gum exuded from the bark of *Commiphora*, was highly prized as an unguent. Punt, with its tropical climate, was the source of many desirable commodities, particularly unguents and exotic timbers; and trade with Punt was a feature of Egypt’s foreign relations from an early period. In the reign of Hatshepsut, the main aim of a famous expedition to Punt was to bring back incense trees for the queen’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. A second substance brought from Punt was *d^cm*, ‘electrum’. The word *d^cm* was used by the Egyptians both for electrum proper (a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver, which is not found within the borders of Egypt) and for ‘white gold’ (gold with a high silver content, obtainable from mines in the deserts bordering the Nile Valley). Here, true electrum may be indicated.

The other two products brought back from Punt cannot be identified with certainty. In Schäfer’s publication, the determinative of the first product seems to indicate a type of wood, and this interpretation is followed by Malek (1986: 85). However, in Naville’s line drawing the form of the determinative suggests instead a type of stone. The word itself is written with three phonetic signs. The first sign looks like *sn* in Schäfer’s publication, but more like *w3d* in Naville’s line drawing. The second sign looks like a carefully executed *hnt*-sign, but a survey of the other examples of the *hnt*-sign in nearby year compartments suggests that the craftsmen who carved the annals rendered it much more simply. Hence, the sign in PS v.IV.1 probably has a different reading; the most plausible is *šsm* (Gardiner sign-list S17*), which occurs in the word *šsmt*, ‘malachite’ (cf. Roccati 1982: 48). The third phonetic sign is clearly a *t*. Hence, Naville’s line drawing of the Palermo Stone seems to offer the best identification of the product in question: it is *w3d-šsmt*, ‘green malachite’. There is further disagreement between Schäfer and Naville regarding the reading of the final product. The last two signs are

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

clearly *dw*, but the first sign may be either the axe (Gardiner sign-list T7) or the *tm*-sign. The determinative (shown in Schäfer but not in Naville) indicates a product that came in small pieces or pellets. It is likely that a gum, resin or unguent of some kind is intended, though precise identification is not possible (Roccati (1982: 48) offers ‘bâtons’ while Malek (1986: 85) gives ‘unguent’).

PS v.IV.2

rnpt (m-)ht zp 6? tnwt 3bd ... sw ...

year after the sixth? occasion of the census; ... months, ... days

The narrow column of text at the end of Sahura’s reign notes the number of the year. Once again, the signs are indistinct, but the most plausible reading is *rnpt (m-)ht zp 6 tnwt*, ‘year after the sixth occasion of the census’, in other words the thirteenth year of the king’s reign. (Other commentators (e.g. Roccati 1982: 48; Clagett 1989: 92, but note his comments on p. 140, n. 110) have suggested ‘year after the seventh occasion of the census’, in other words Sahura’s fifteenth year.) Sahura’s reign came to an end before the end of the calendar year, after nine months and six days had elapsed. Because the Turin Canon allots Sahura a reign of just twelve years, it has been suggested that the census may have been conducted at irregular intervals, rather than every second year; in this case, the ‘year after the sixth occasion of the census’ need not have been Sahura’s thirteenth year (Meyer 1984: 352). However, other evidence suggests that, in the early Fifth Dynasty, the census was a regular, biennial event, even if it had been irregular in the reign of Sneferu. The figure for Sahura’s reign given in the Turin Canon may simply reflect the number of complete years the king spent on the throne (cf. Meyer 1984: 353 n. 2); or it may give a wholly inaccurate reign-length (compare the figure of 24 years given by the Turin Canon for the reign of Sneferu; this has been proven to be incorrect (Krauss 1996)).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

change of reign

Hr wsr-h^cw nswt-b^lṯ nbt^l h^c m šhmw?

The Horus ‘powerful of appearances’, the dual king, Two Ladies ‘risen in power’

PS v.IV.3

*3bd 2 sw 7 mst n^lrw sm3 Šm^c+T3-M^hw phr h3 ṯnb
nswt-b^lṯ Nfr-ṯr-k3-R^c ṯr.n.f m mnw[.f n]
psd^t m pr-n^lr? snwt(ṯ) ṯnb-h^d Nrf-ṯr-k3-R^c-mr^l-psd^t 3ḥt st3t 4 hr hwt-Nfr-ṯr-k3-R^c
m.f b3w ṯwnw n^lrw Hr(ṯ)-^ch3 m ṯ3bt Nfr-ṯr-k3-R^c-mr^l-b3w-ṯwnw 3ḥt st3t 10?
ḥnt-ṯ3bt 3ḥt st3t 250+x hr wr-m3(w) 2 ḥmw-n^lr ḥrpw? pr.f hr? t3w? m ? m^l3ḥt-
n^lr R^c Hwt-Hr h3t (x2) hr ... šnwt n nb ḥtp-n^lr x+110 t ḥnqt 203 ṯr t^z? prw^l-šn^c?
r.s ... mr r(m)t r.s ms(t) wpt-r d^cm ṯḥ^l twt šms r [hwt] Hwt-Hr [nbt] nht mrt-
Snfr[w] R^c [m] tp hwt ṯrt n.f m^ltt ...
mh 3+x*

2 months 7 days; creating (images of) the gods; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt;
circumambulating the wall

the dual king Neferirkara: he made as (his) endowment (for:)

the ennead in the *senut(i)*-shrine of the divine estate?:

(in the town of) the Memphite nome (called) ‘Neferirkara beloved of the
ennead’, 4 arouras of arable land under (the control of) the foundation of
Neferirkara (and belonging to it?);

the souls of Heliopolis and the gods of Kher-aha:

in (the town of) the eastern region (called) ‘Neferirkara beloved of the
souls of Heliopolis’, 10? arouras of arable land; (and in the) foremost of
the eastern region: 250+x arouras of arable land under (the control of) the
two ‘greatest of seers’ and the priests and officials? of his estate, (being) as
lands? [exempt from taxation?] like the arable land of the god [i.e. the

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

king]

Ra and Hathor:

an offering-table each; from the granary of the lord? 210? (measures of)
divine offerings, (and) 203 measures of (offering-)bread and -beer;
there were made two storehouses for it? ... people for it?
creating and (performing the) opening-of-the-mouth (ceremony on) an
electrum statue of Ihy (which was) followed to (the temple of) Hathor
(lady) of the sycomore (fig) in (the town of) 'beloved of Sneferu'

Ra (on) the roof?:

doing for him likewise ...

3[+x] cubits, ...

Neferirkara's first year

We may assume that the full, five-fold titulary of the king was inscribed at the top of his first year compartment; however, only the king's Horus and *nswt-bt* *nbt* names are preserved on the surviving fragment.

Neferirkara's first 'year' on the throne comprised only two months and seven days. Like the change of reign on PS r.II, there seems to be some 'missing' days between the death of Sahura and the formal accession of his successor. Depending on how one reconstructs the number of months and days in PS v.IV.2, the interregnum lasted either 22 or 52 days (Jéquier 1906a: 60). Unless this discrepancy, too, represents a scribal error (possible, but perhaps unlikely), it provides further support for the theory that the new king did not begin his formal reign until the accession/coronation ceremonies had been accomplished (Jéquier 1906a: 62). These traditional ceremonies are duly recorded, together with the entry *mst ntrw*, 'creating (images of) the gods'. This suggests a large-scale programme to re-fashion or re-dedicate the cult images of important deities at the beginning of the new reign.

The two principal recipients of royal endowments are named as the ennead (*psdt*) and the 'souls of Heliopolis' (see commentaries to PS v.III.2 and PS v.II.2, respectively). Both groups of deities were closely associated with the cult of the

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

sun god, and hence with the religious programme of the Fifth Dynasty. Land was allocated to the ennead and the ‘souls of Heliopolis’ from two sources: first, a settlement of Neferirkara near the capital (in the Memphite nome), called ‘Neferirkara beloved of the ennead’; second, another settlement, presumably associated with a royal domain, but this time located in the east(ern Delta), called ‘Neferirkara beloved of the souls of Heliopolis’. We may speculate that this town was close to Heliopolis, perhaps in the south-eastern Delta. (Gauthier (1926: 88) places it in the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, the Heliopolitan nome.) The settlement called ‘Neferirkara beloved of the ennead’ was apparently under the control of a royal estate (*hwt-Nfr-īr-k3-R*^c). Indeed, settlements with names paying homage to a particular king were probably royal foundations themselves, established to house the workers employed on the associated royal estate and to collect and process its agricultural produce. ‘Names of newly founded cities are consistently epithets of the king, as are the names of the royal pyramids with which the towns are closely linked: the place names mark out places or areas of state significance’ (Parkinson 1998: 4).

The locality named *Hr(ī)-^ch3* is the Greek *Babylon*, or Old Cairo. It is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (§1350) and in numerous inscriptions from later periods. According to ancient Egyptian legend, it was here that Horus and Seth fought, hence the name *Hr(ī)-^ch3*, ‘the place of fighting’. It lies on the east bank of the Nile opposite Memphis. In ancient times it lay very close to Per-Hapi (Nilopolis), and may even have formed part of this town (Gauthier 1927: 203–4). Babylon was the main cult centre of the Heliopolitan ennead (*psdt*), demonstrating the close connection between this group of deities and the ‘souls of Heliopolis’ (*b3w ʔwnw*).

The area called *hnt-ī3bt*, ‘foremost of the eastern region’, was the fourteenth Lower Egyptian nome, comprising the extreme eastern edge of the Delta (see also PS v.III.1).

The reference to the *wr-m3(w)*, ‘greatest of seers’, is a further indication of the prominence of solar religion during the early Fifth Dynasty. The ‘greatest of seers’ — perhaps in origin a title relating to astronomical observation — was the

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

title held by the High Priest of Ra at Heliopolis. According to this entry, the lands allocated to the 'souls of Heliopolis' and the 'gods of Kher-aha' were under the control of the High Priest(s) and the other temple personnel (at Heliopolis). Here we see an early example of the practice common in later periods, whereby the land-holdings of a temple bestowed real economic power on its High Priest who was in day-to-day charge of the cult and its possessions. The signs at the end of the column are difficult to read, but probably indicate that the aforementioned land is to be considered 'free from taxation like the arable land of the god' (cf. Roccati 1982: 50; Clagett 1989: 93). Here, the term 'god' may refer to the king, whose lands were presumably immune from state taxation.

The sense of the next column seems to be that two storehouses were constructed to hold the food offerings derived from the granaries of the lord (the king?) which were presented upon the altars of Ra and Hathor. As with nearly all the pious donations listed in the annals, the provenance of the gift is stated as well as its beneficiary.

The next entry illustrates the two steps required to create a new cult image. First, the image had to be fashioned (*mst*). Next, in order for the statue to be made efficacious as a home for the deity, it had to be brought to life. This was achieved by means of the 'opening of the mouth' (*wpt-r(3)*) ceremony, in which a special instrument was applied to the mouth and nose of the statue, allowing it to 'breathe' and hence come to life. The 'following' of the statue indicates a procession, in which the statue would be carried to a particular temple (in this case a temple of Hathor, mother of Ihy) to pay a 'visit' to the deity of that temple. (There are many examples of such processions from the New Kingdom, for example the Beautiful Festival of the Valley in which the image of Amun-Ra of Karnak would be 'followed' across the Nile to visit the temple of Deir el-Bahri.)

The god Ihy (³*Ihī*) was closely connected with the cult of Hathor, and this is reflected in the entry here, where the cult statue of the god is said to have gone in procession to the temple of Hathor, lady of the sycomore. The name of the deity probably derives from *ih*, 'bull', 'cow'. At Dendera, principal cult centre of Hathor in the Late Period, Ihy was worshipped as the youthful god of music, and

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

as son of Hathor and Horus of Edfu (cf. Blackman 1998: 120). In the mastaba of Kagemni (dating to the early Sixth Dynasty) a small calf is labelled as Ihy. Given the piety shown by the Fifth Dynasty kings to the cult of Ra, it may be significant that the Coffin Texts name Ra as Ihy's father (Hoenes 1980). It is possible, therefore, that the king — who regarded himself as the son of Ra and expressed this in his titulary — was identified in some way with Ihy.

The Egyptian word *nht* designated the sycomore fig (*Ficus sycomorus*, not to be confused with the English or American sycamore), attested from Predynastic times although not necessarily an indigenous Egyptian species (Germer 1986). The title *nbt nht*, 'lady of the sycomore', is borne by Hathor from the Old Kingdom at the latest (cf. Erman and Grapow (eds) 1928: 282). As a goddess of protection, it is perhaps natural that Hathor should have been closely associated with trees from early times. As Bleeker (1973: 37) has put it, 'In a land such as Egypt, where the sun can shine mercilessly, the tree provides a refreshing shadow that is beyond estimation ... The bestower of this benefaction is the tree-goddess Hathor'. Indeed, Hathor seems to have become the pre-eminent tree-goddess, assimilating or eclipsing other tree deities. Hathor was revered as 'lady of the sycomore' primarily in a sanctuary 'to the north of the wall of Memphis' (Bleeker 1973: 37), although a cult of Hathor 'lady of the sycomore' is also known to have existed near the Giza pyramids (Bleeker 1973: 37). The location of *mrt-Snfr(w)* is not known; once again, we have a place named after the king to whose funerary estate it presumably belonged.

The meaning of the phrase *R^c tp hwt*, 'Ra on the roof', is not clear; it may refer to an image of the sun god kept on the roof of a temple to greet the morning rays of the sun.

Fifth Register (Neferirkara)

Only the upper part of v.V is preserved, comprising two consecutive years of the reign of Neferirkara. The annals of this king therefore span v.IV and v.V, indicating that he enjoyed a longer reign than his two predecessors. It has been

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

argued that the annals did not end with the reign of Neferirkara (Vercoutter 1992: 76), even though he is the last king attested in the inscriptions of the surviving fragments.

There is no titulary band above v.V. The fragmentary nature of the inscription makes some of the entries difficult to translate.

PS v.V.1

[nswt-ḥtī Nfr-ṛ-k3-R^c ṛ.n.f m mnw.f n] ...

r ḥwt-nbw h? Nfr[-ṛ-k3]-R^c ...

R^c m st-ṛb-R^c ṛ.n.f phr ḥ3 ...

nswt-H(wī) 3ḥt st3t ...

rnpt zp 5 [tnwt]

...

[the dual king Neferirkara: he made as his monument for:] ...

the mouth? of Hatnub, ... of Nefer[irka]ra ... Ra in (the sun temple) 'Ra's favourite place': making for him a circumambulation? ... (the mortuary estate of)

King Huni: ... arouras of arable land

year of the fifth occasion [of the census]

...

Neferirkara's tenth year

The fragmentary preservation of this year's entries presents considerable problems of interpretation. Roccati (1982: 51) restored the first entry as '[modeler et] consacrer dans l'atelier ... une statue de Néferirkarê en bronze ...', although the basis for this reading is far from clear.

The context of the reference to Hatnub is not clear. It may record the provenance of goods donated by the king, in which case they would have been made of travertine ('Egyptian alabaster'), since Hatnub — on the east bank of the

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Nile in Middle Egypt, near the site of Amarna — was the location of large travertine quarries that had been exploited from at least the First Dynasty.

The sun temple of Neferirkara called *st-ib-R^c*, ‘Ra’s favourite place’, has not been located, but it was probably in the vicinity of Abusir and Abu Ghurab where two other kings of the Fifth Dynasty are known to have built sun temples.

The reference to (a mortuary estate of) King Huni is particularly interesting. It indicates that this king, the last of the Third Dynasty and predecessor of Sneferu, was still revered in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, one hundred and fifty years later. Although virtually every king established foundations of land with the intention that they should supply his mortuary cult in perpetuity, in practice much of this land seems to have been appropriated by subsequent kings for their own foundations, or re-allocated to other cults and temples. Clearly, in this case, an estate established by Huni had escaped the ravages of time and had survived long after the death of its founder. The reading of Huni’s name is still far from clear. The signs suggest a name compounded with the word *nswt*, ‘king’; the reading may be *nswt-H(wi)*, ‘(it is) the king who smites’. ‘Huni’ has become established in the literature and, in the absence of a better, generally agreed reading, is likely to continue in use.

The legend ‘year of the fifth occasion [of the census]’ identifies this year as Neferirkara’s tenth.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

PS v.V.2

h^c(t)-nswt-bⁱtⁱ ... s^ch^c? m3(^c)tⁱ r qnbt rsⁱ ... [st-ⁱb-R^c]

nswt-bⁱtⁱ Nfr-ⁱr-k3-R^c ⁱr.n.f m mnw[.f n]

R^c-Hr? m st-ⁱb-R^c hmt? mh 8 msktt m^cnd(t) ...

b3w ²Iwnw d^cm ...

Pth rsⁱ ⁱnb[.f] st3t 2+x ...

W3dt rsⁱt d^cm ...

...

appearance of the dual king ... raising up the *maaty*-bark at the southern corner

... [of the sun temple 'Ra's favourite place']

the dual king Neferirkara: he made as [his] endowment [for:]

Ra-Horus in [the sun temple] 'Ra's favourite place':

8 cubits-long copper (models of) the evening-bark and the morning-bark

...

the souls of Heliopolis: electrum ...

Ptah south of his wall: 2+x arouras (of arable land) ...

southern Wadjet?: electrum ...

...

Neferirkara's eleventh year

The *maaty*-bark (*m3^ctⁱ*) was the boat of the sun god in which he travelled across the sky. The solar boat was erected (perhaps better 'installed') at the southern corner of a building whose identity is now lost. It was almost certainly the sun temple of Neferirkara (called 'Ra's favourite place'), since a model solar boat was found buried at just this location (near the southern corner) at the sun temple of Niuserra at Abu Ghurab (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 10).

The syncretism of Ra and Horus is particularly noteworthy. It seems to foreshadow the later appearance of Ra-Horakhty. Hence, a connection between

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

the sun god and the sky god appears to have been made early in the history of ancient Egyptian theology.

The *msktt*-bark was the boat in which the sun travelled (through the underworld) during the night; whereas the *m^ςndt*-bark was the boat in which the sun travelled through the heavens during the day. We see here an elaborate theology of the solar cult at a comparatively early period. The preceding phrase ‘copper, 8 cubits’ indicates that two solar barks donated on this occasion were small-scale replicas for cultic purposes (Sethe 1917: 53–4).

The epithet of Ptah *rsi² inb.f*, ‘south of his wall’, is first attested in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Persen at Saqqara. It is probably the earliest epithet applied to Ptah, and became closely linked with the god, irrespective of where he was worshipped. However, in origin, it probably described the location of Ptah’s main cult centre, a temple at Memphis south of the city’s ‘white wall(s)’ (*inb(w)-ḥd*) (Sandman Holmberg 1946: 205–8).

The identity of *W3dt rsi²t*, ‘southern Wadjet’, is not clear.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

THE MAIN CAIRO FRAGMENT (JdE 44859)

Unlike the Palermo Stone, the main Cairo fragment (CF1) is heavily worn. Much of the surface 'has completely lost all trace of having been inscribed' and the reading of the remaining inscription 'is an epigraphic task of peculiar difficulty' (Breasted 1931: 710).

The following analysis of CF1 is largely based upon the hand copy made in 1948 by I.E.S. Edwards from his own first-hand inspection of the artefact in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Additions placed 'in half-brackets' are based upon the present author's hand copy, made in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo in 1995. Additions based upon studies by other authors are placed {in braces}. Readings based upon Daressy's (1916) study are given in bold.

Edwards' hand copy, together with an accompanying letter to Stephen Glanville (then Sir Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology in the University of Cambridge), are now in the Library of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge. A transcription of Edwards' letter to Glanville is given below. It is of considerable interest for the history of scholarship, since it records the observations of an eminent Egyptologist on one of the most problematic sources for ancient Egyptian history.

Transcription of letter sent by I.E.S. Edwards to S.R.K. Glanville, signed and dated I.E.S. Edwards, Cairo, 1948:

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES,
BRITISH MUSEUM,
LONDON: W.C.1.

31st May 1948.

My dear Stephen,

I promised you a print of my copy of the Cairo annals some time ago; it isn't very exciting, but you may find it more useful than Gauthier's photograph, which shows nothing of the text of the third line. I am rather bothered about the Seth animals in the fourth line; they ought to signify that the reign in question belongs to Peribsen, but the next king's serekh was surmounted by a four-legged animal and I suppose it must therefore have been Peribsen's.

Apologies for smudges The last line (in my drawing) may show the end of Zoser's reign. If so, his successor appears to have had a very short reign, perhaps only eight–nine years.

Hope to be seeing you soon. I shall be on leave (working on the C.A.H.!) for two weeks starting on Saturday, but could always make a trip to town for the pleasure of seeing you.

Ever yours,
Eiddon.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Recto

First Register

Since the upper part of the register is lost, no names are preserved. The lower section of each compartment contains the figure of a seated king, acting as the determinative for the (lost) royal name. The third figure from the right wears the red crown, whereas all the other kings wear the double crown. This seems likely to be the result of a scribal error, rather than a deliberate effort to distinguish one particular ruler as having controlled a different (more restricted) territory.

It has been suggested that the band above r.I originally ‘contained designations or titles of the groups of royal names which were below it’ (Breasted 1931: 724), but this is mere hypothesis.

Both Gauthier (1915: 31) and Borchardt (1917) mistook the double crowns for white crowns (with the exception of the third crown from the right which Gauthier correctly recognised as the red crown). The correct identification was made by Breasted (1931) who interpreted the entries literally and argued that Egypt had been unified seven or eight hundred years before the beginning of the First Dynasty. Indeed, he went so far as to assert that CF1 provided ‘a conclusive documentary demonstration’ that Egypt had been unified long before the legendary Menes; and he argued that this interpretation — a naïve one, to modern eyes — ‘must be classed among established historical facts’ (Breasted 1931: 721). This is a striking example of the literalist thinking which has characterised most studies of the royal annals to date.

CF1 r.I.1

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.I.2

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

CF1 r.I.3

...

(king in red crown)

The king of [Upper and] Lower Egypt ...

CF1 r.I.4

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

CF1 r.I.5

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

CF1 r.I.6

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

CF1 r.I.7

...

(king in double crown)

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt ...

CF1 r.I.8

...

(king)

The king ...

CF1 r.I.9

...

(king)

The king ...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.I.10

...

(king)

The king ...

Second Register (Djer)

The royal titulary in the band above r.II is complete and identifies the reign in question as that of Djer. The group of three signs following the *serekh* is difficult to interpret, but seems to be a forerunner of the later 'golden Horus' name. The seated figure which introduces the second and third signs is probably a title, though its reading is unknown (Gauthier 1915: 34 n. 8). The appearance of a cartouche in the titulary of Djer is an anachronism: this device is not attested until the end of the Third Dynasty (Seidlmayer 1996: 121, pl. 23). Clearly, the compilers of the annals sought to fit the names of the early kings into the pattern of royal titles familiar to them, a pattern which included a cartouche-name. The name in the cartouche (presumably the king's birth name, though not attested in contemporary First Dynasty inscriptions) reads ³*ḥn*. The writing is identical to the name of the third king of the First Dynasty as recorded in the Abydos king list of Seti I. This seems to indicate that, to later generations at least, Djer was regarded as the third ruler of the First Dynasty. It has been suggested that an ephemeral ruler Athothis I succeeded Aha. This suggestion is based upon the identification of Aha and Menes (Helck 1953), and is bolstered by the apparent interregnum between the reigns of Aha and Djer, as indicated on PS r.II. However, the fact that PS does not record the name of any intervening ruler, combined with the total absence of any contemporary evidence for the existence of a king Athothis I, makes the theory rather improbable (cf. Wilkinson 1999: 67). The correspondence of the name on CF1 and the name in the Abydos king list appears to confirm other indications (namely the necropolis sealings of Den and Qaa) that the Egyptians

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

themselves regarded Narmer as the first king of the First Dynasty, Aha as the second and hence Djer as the third. The name of Djer's mother is given as *Hnt-Hp*, a theophorous name compounded with the divine bull *Hp* (Apis). (Compare the name of Netjeirkhet's mother, *Nt-m3^ct-Hp*.) Apis was worshipped at Memphis, and one can speculate that the name may indicate that Djer's mother came from the Memphite area.

The correspondence between the cartouche name of Djer given in the annals and the name recorded in the Abydos king list seems to support the authenticity of the sources from which the annals (and indeed the king list) were compiled, and offers strong support for the authenticity of CF1 itself (Helck 1953: 356; *contra* O'Mara 1979, 1986a).

Hr-Dr ?-n-nbw 3Iti mwt Hn(w)t-Hp(w)

The Horus Djer, Gold name? Iti; (his) mother Khenut-hap

CF1 r.II.1

šms-Hr mst 3Inpw
mḥ 7 šsp ...

'following of Horus'; creating (an image of) Anubis
7 cubits, ... palms

Djer's nth+1 year

The events which denote this year are apparently identical to those in the corresponding compartment of the Palermo Stone (PS r.II.1). More worrying, the events are identical to those recorded for the eighth year of (the king assumed to be) Djer (PS r.II.10). This may be coincidence, although it seems unlikely that precisely the same combination of events would or could have been used to denote two separate years of a king's reign, even if they were several years apart.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

To have done so would have made an administrative nonsense of annals-keeping. Unless CF1 is a twentieth-century fake (O'Mara 1979, 1986a), the only reasonable explanation for the duplication is that it reflects a scribal copying error.

CF1 r.II.2

phr t3wỉ hb-dšr
mḥ 7 ...

circumambulating the Two Lands; *desher*-festival
7 cubits, ...

Djer's nth+2 year

The ritual called 'circumambulating the Two Lands' is otherwise unattested, but it may have been similar (in symbolism and practice) to the well-attested accession ceremony called 'circumambulating the wall' (*phr ḥ3 ỉnb*) and to the ritual of 'encompassing the field' which formed a central part of the *sed*-festival. (Clagett (1989: 70) read this entry tentatively as 'festival of traversing the two lakes'.)

The *desher*-festival recorded in this compartment had already been celebrated once before in Djer's reign, namely in his second year (PS r.II.4).

CF1 r.II.3

šms-Ḥr ms(t) ... Dḥwtỉ
mḥ 7 ...

'following of Horus'; creating (an image of) ... Thoth
7 cubits, ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Djer's nth+3 year

Edwards' hand-copy of CF1 shows traces of a vertical sign between the *ms*-sign and the ibis divine image. The meaning of this intervening sign is difficult to gauge. The creation of an image of an ibis deity probably represents the earliest definite reference to Thoth, since the sign used is that employed in writings of Thoth from the Old Kingdom onwards. An ibis deity is depicted atop a standard on the Louvre (Bull) palette (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 6.4 (10)), but it cannot be identified with certainty as Thoth. Note that Daressy (1916: 165) read the sign not as an ibis but as the standard of the jackal-god Sed. However, a comparison with the entry on PS where Sed is mentioned (PS r.III.11) makes such a reading unlikely for CF1 r.II.3. The ibis is very clear on Edwards' hand-copy of CF1.

CF1 r.II.4

h3 smr-ntrw hb-Skr?

mḥ 4

planning? (the building) 'companion of the gods'; Sokar?-festival

4 cubits

Djer's nth+4 year

Once again, the entry duplicates an earlier entry for the same king (Djer's fifth year, PS r.II.7). This can only be explained as another example of scribal error, or as a reflection of a deficiency in the original records available to the annalists (which may have caused them to invent an appropriate entry for the sake of completeness).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.II.5

šms-~~Hr~~ sqr Stt
mh 4

‘following of Horus’; smiting (the land of) Setjet
4 cubits

Djer’s nth+5 year

The entry makes reference to ‘smiting (the land of) Setjet’, presumably a region of Western Asia (in Egyptian inscriptions ‘Setjet’ (*Stt*) usually refers to Syria-Palestine). There is no contemporary, First Dynasty evidence that Djer carried out a military campaign (real or symbolic) against Egypt’s neighbour to the north-east. This is not to say that the entry on CF1 is false, merely that it cannot be corroborated from contemporary evidence.

CF1 r.II.6

h^c(t)-nswt mst H3?
mh 4

appearance of the king as *nswt*; creating (an image of) (the desert-god) Ha?
4 cubits

Djer’s nth+6 year

After the ritual ‘appearance of the king as *nswt*’, the second entry records ‘creating (an image of)’ a deity whose name is now illegible. The deity seems to be indicated by a standard supporting an object. The remaining traces of this object probably rule out the identification of the deity as either Min or Seshat. Maspero (quoted in Gauthier 1915: 40) suggested that the object was the desert hieroglyph; this reading was supported by Daressy (1916: 166). A standard

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

bearing the desert hieroglyph is shown on the Scorpion macehead (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 6.4 (4)), but there it is unlikely to represent a particular deity. However, in the Pyramid Texts, the desert hieroglyph upon a standard is used as an ideogram for the desert god Ha (*H3*) (Gardiner 1957: 488, sign-list N25), and this is offered as a tentative interpretation of the entry here. A second desert god, given the epithet *nb h3swt*, is attested on a relief block from the funerary temple of Sahura at Abusir (now in the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum) (Robins 1997: fig. 55). A complicating factor is Edwards' hand-copy of the recto of CF1, which would seem to argue against reading the object on the standard as the desert hieroglyph.

CF1 r.II.7

šms-Hr mst Nt?

mh 3

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Neith?

3 cubits

Djer's nth+7 year

Once again, the creation of a divine image is recorded, after the regular ‘following of Horus’. As in the previous compartment, the name of the deity in question presents problems of interpretation. Gauthier (1915: 40) read the vertical sign as the image of Min, while Daressy (1916: 166) suggested that it was a rendering of the the symbol of the goddess Neith. Edwards' hand-copy indicates that the sign is the stone-worker's drill (Gardiner sign-list U25), read *hmt*. To which deity this might refer is entirely unclear. Hence, Daressy's suggestion seems the most attractive, and the most plausible, given the known importance of Neith in the First Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999: 291).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.II.8

smr-ntrw ḥb-dšr

mḥ 5

(the building) ‘companion of the gods’; *desher*-festival

5 cubits

Djer’s nth+8 year

The building called *smr-ntrw* is attested elsewhere in the annals of Djer (PS r.II.7 and CF1 r.II.4). Curiously, in this case, the name of the building is not accompanied by a sign for an action (for example, ^ḥḥ, ‘halting at’; ḥ3, ‘planning’; or *pḏ šs*, ‘stretching the cord at’). The absence of such a word makes the entry as a whole rather meaningless, unless it indicates that the following event (the *desher*-festival) took place at the building called *smr-ntrw* (Clagett 1989: 71). Alternatively, it is possible that the records from which the entry was copied were damaged or incomplete, or that the entry was misunderstood by the scribe. A third possibility is that the compartment represents yet another example of scribal error (the third in one register!).

This compartment apparently records the third occurrence in Djer’s reign of the *desher*-festival (cf. PS r.II. 4 and CF1 r.II.2).

CF1 r.II.9

šms-Ḥr mst ʾInpw

mḥ 4 ...

‘following of Horus’; creating (an image of) Anubis

4 cubits

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Djer's $n^{\text{th}}+9$ year

This compartment simply repeats the entry from CF1 r.II.1, which is itself a duplication of Djer's eighth year (PS r.II.10). (Note, however, that an additional *t*-sign has been introduced between the *ms*-sign and the writing of the god Anubis in CF1 r.II.9.) Two identical entries in the reign of a single king might be explained by a scribal copying error; three identical entries are more difficult to explain and may raise serious questions about the reliability of CF1 as a whole.

Third Register (Anedjib–Semerkhet–Qaa)

The central portion of the third register is identified by the accompanying royal titulary as comprising the entire reign of Semerkhet. The reading of the *serekh* defeated both Gauthier and Lacau (Gauthier 1915: 42), while Daressy (1916: 167) read it incorrectly as Qaa; Maspero seems to have been the first to read the name correctly, a breakthrough that was reinforced by Petrie's own observations (Petrie 1916: 114). Doubts have been cast on the reading (Peet 1920: 154), but the disposition of the annals makes the identification almost certain. Semerkhet is recorded as having reigned only $8\frac{1}{2}$ years. The first, damaged compartment of CF1 r.III must therefore record the last year of Anedjib's reign, while the last complete compartment of CF1 r.III must record the first year of Qaa's reign. (The order of succession at the end of the First Dynasty has been securely established both by inscribed stone vessels from the Step Pyramid complex and by the recently discovered necropolis sealing of Qaa.) If CF1 is authentic and reliable, it is unique in providing a complete record of the reign of an Early Dynastic king (albeit a relatively ephemeral one). The events deemed worthy of record for Semerkhet's reign are, however, uninformative for the writing of history as it is understood today. They merely repeat the usual periodic rituals and religious ceremonies recorded for other kings' reigns in the royal annals.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.III.1

...

...

...

...

Anedjib's penultimate year

The inscription here is totally destroyed.

CF1 r.III.2

...

...

Anedjib's last year

The entries in the upper part of the compartment are destroyed. Only the Nile height measurement below (which occupies the entire width of the year compartment) remains legible (see below CF1 r.III.3).

change of reign

Hr-Smr-ht ? ʾIrī-nbtī ?-nbw mwt B3.tī-r-st?

The Horus Semerkhet Iry-nebty ?-of gold; (his) mother Batirset?

Semerkhet's titulary gives the king's cartouche name as ʾIrī-nbtī, with the 'Two Ladies' written within the cartouche (cf. Grdseloff 1944: 284). This provides a useful point of reference for reading Semerkhet's *nebty* name in inscriptions from

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

his reign: the element *nbt*⁷ seems to have been read as part of the name, rather than merely as the preceding title.

The name of Semerkhet's mother is difficult to read and to interpret (Kaplony 1963: 473–4). At least six different readings of the name have been proposed. For example, Gauthier (1915: 42) read it as *Tf-tl⁷-r-st* whilst Edwards' copy suggests the reading *B3-tl⁷-r-st*. Kaplony (1963: 473) preferred the slightly different reading *B3t-lr⁷lt-s*. The first element of the name, *b3t*, may mean 'motherhood'; in this case, the name as a whole would seem to mean 'motherhood (is) her companion'. Kaplony argued that the name, as it appears on CF1, represented a corruption of *Srt-Hr*. This latter name — believed by Kaplony to be that of Den's chief queen, and hence possibly the mother of Semerkhet — is attested on a private stela from one of the subsidiary burials surrounding the tomb of Den at Abydos. Mindful of the later royal name Nitocris (a Greek rendering of the Egyptian Nitiqret), O'Mara (1979: 127) dismissed the name ending (*rs*) as 'an anachronistic absurdity — a crude gaffe on the part of the designer'. Given the many uncertainties surrounding the accuracy of the annals, speculation about the name of Semerkhet's mother is unlikely to be resolved in the absence of contemporary, First Dynasty evidence.

CF1 r.III.3

h^c(t)-nswt-bt⁷ sm3 šm^c+T3-Mhw phr h3 lnb
mh 4 šsp 4

appearance of the dual king; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt; circumambulating
the wall

4 cubits, 4 palms

Semerkhet's first year

The usual ceremonies connected with the king's accession and coronation.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.III.4

šms-Hr hr idb (phrr) Hp_w
mḥ 4 šsp ...

‘following of Horus’ upon the bank; (running of) the Apis bull
4 cubits, ... palms

Semerkheth’s second year

The ‘following of Horus’ resumes, after being absent from the records of Den’s reign. We cannot tell whether it was present in the annals of Semerkheth’s predecessor Anedjib, or whether it reappeared for the first time in the reign of Semerkheth. (Similarly, we cannot tell whether its temporary absence reflects the source material available to the compilers of the annals, or an actual change in administrative practice during the second half of the First Dynasty.) It may be significant that this first occurrence of the event in the reign of a new king is further described as the ‘following of Horus upon the bank’. The precise meaning of this additional phrase is not clear, although it possibly refers to the royal progress having taken place on this occasion by land (along the banks of the Nile) rather than by boat, as seems to have been the usual practice.

The ‘following of Horus’ is accompanied by a second event, the ‘running of the Apis bull’, already attested in the reign of Den (PS r.III.12).

CF1 r.III.5

h^c(t)-nswt mst im²-wt?
mḥ 4

appearance of the king as *nswt*; creating an *imiut*-fetish?
4 cubits

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Semerkheth's third year

After the 'appearance of the king as *nswt*', the creation of a divine image is recorded. Gauthier read the entry as *mst* ³*Inpw*, 'creation (of a divine image) of Anubis', but Edwards' copy of the fragment shows an additional sign before the recumbent jackal. Although it resembles the stone-worker's drill (*hmt*), it is more likely a crude rendering of the *imiut*-fetish, a totem closely connected with Anubis. (In any case, the phrase *hmt* ³*Inpw* would make little or no sense). Hence, the figure of the god Anubis may here be used as a determinative. The alternative explanation, that the *imiut*-fetish is itself to be read as ³*Inpw*, 'Anubis' (Cenival 1965: 16), seems unlikely, given that the word ³*Inpw* appears frequently in the annals written with just the recumbent jackal.

CF1 r.III.6

šms-Hr ...

mḥ 4

'following of Horus'; ...

4 cubits

Semerkheth's fourth year

The bottom half of the compartment is worn away, so we cannot tell which event accompanied the 'following of Horus'.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.III.7

ḥ^c(t)-nswt ms(t) ... wpt ḥwt p-Ḥr-msn?

mḥ 4 šsp 4

appearance of the king as *nswt*; creating (an image of) ...; opening? (the building)
'throne of Horus the harpooner'?

4 cubits, 4 palms

Semerkheth's fifth year

The regular 'appearance of the king as *nswt*' is accompanied by an apparent reference to the creation of a divine image. The deity or image in question is now illegible, although Edwards' copy suggests a rectangular sign in this position. The third entry for this year refers to a building or institution called *ḥwt p-Ḥr-msn* (tentatively translated as '(the building) throne of Horus the harpooner'), possibly a royal residence located at Buto (Wilkinson 1999: 124). However, the accompanying term *wpt*, 'opening', is difficult to interpret in this context. Perhaps a new, or rebuilt structure was inaugurated by Semerkheth; alternatively the 'opening' may refer to another ceremony.

CF1 r.III.8

šms-Ḥr ms(t) Mnw

mḥ 3 šsp 4

'following of Horus'; creating (an image of) Min

3 cubits, 4 palms

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Semerkheth's sixth year

The creation of (a divine statue of) the god Min occurs here for the second time in the annals; it is first recorded for the reign of Djer, in his seventh year (PS r.II.9), where it accompanies the 'appearance of the king as *nswt*'.

CF1 r.III.9

ḥꜥ(t)-nswt-bꜣtꜣ ḥb-Spdw
mḥ 4 ...

'appearance of the dual king'; festival of Sopdu
4 cubits, ... [palms]

Semerkheth's seventh year

The reference to the god Sopdu accords well with an inscribed stone bowl of Semerkheth from Helwan/el-Maasara (Saad 1969: pl. 32) which names the same deity. A plumed figure on a year label of Den from Abydos has been controversially identified as the same god (Godron 1990: 58, cf. Wilkinson 1999: 296–7), but the two inscriptions of Semerkheth probably represent the earliest references to Sopdu. The cult centre of Sopdu ('lord of the east') was in the eastern Delta, at a place called Iput (mentioned on a sealing from the beginning of the Second Dynasty). The celebration of a festival of Sopdu seems to indicate that the cult of this deity was popular enough in the late First Dynasty to have been a concern of the royal court and to have been deemed worthy of record in the royal annals. Indeed, First Dynasty activity in the eastern Delta is attested at several sites (Wilkinson 1999: 339–41, 364–5).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.III.10

šms-Hr ...

mḥ 4 šsp 2

‘following of Horus’; ...

4 cubits, 2 palms

Semerket’s eighth year

As with Semerket’s fourth year (CF1 r.III.6), the bottom half of the compartment is worn away, so we cannot tell which event accompanied the ‘following of Horus’.

CF1 r.III.11

ḥ^c(t)-nswt-bḥt mst ...

mḥ 4

appearance of the dual king; creating (an image of) a cattle deity

4 cubits

Semerket’s ninth (last) year

This year was identified by the creation of a divine image of an unnamed cattle god. The particular hieroglyph used makes it unlikely that Apis is meant. Cattle gods are known to have been important in the Delta in early times, since they figure prominently in the nome standards of several Deltaic nomes. However, when religious cults were formalised towards the end of the Early Dynastic period, many of the cattle cults seem not to have been adopted into the state-sanctioned pantheon. (Exceptions are the Apis bull at Memphis, the sacred bull called ‘the son of life’/‘the living son’ attested in the annals of Ninetjer (PS r.IV.4), and the bull cult at Buto (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 8.9) which seems not to

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

have survived beyond the early First Dynasty.) The official survival of a cattle cult as late as the end of the First Dynasty is therefore of great interest. Together with the festival of Sopdu two years previously, the entry for Semerkhet's ninth year may indicate an emphasis on the Delta and its cults in the latter part of the king's reign.

change of reign

CF1 r.III.12

*ḥ^c(t)-nswt-bỉỉỉ sm3 Šm^c+T3-Mḥw phr ḥ3 ỉnb
mh 3*

appearance of the dual king; uniting Upper and Lower Egypt; circumambulating the wall

3 cubits

Qaa's first year

The change of reign seems to have occurred at the end of the calendar year, since the line separating the reigns (of Semerkhet and Qaa) coincides with the division between year compartments (cf. Daressy 1916: 168).

The events recorded for Qaa's first year are the usual ceremonies associated with the accession and coronation: the 'appearance of the dual king', the ritual 'unification of Upper and Lower Egypt' and 'circumambulating the wall (at Memphis)'.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.III.13

...

m[h]...

...

... cubits

Qaa's second year

This compartment, lying on the left-hand edge of CF1, is entirely destroyed but for the beginning of a cubit-sign in the bottom section.

Fourth Register (Ninetjer?–Peribsen?)

The fourth register is highly abraded, and very little remains of the inscription (cf. Gauthier 1915: 45). Only a few isolated signs can be identified. Edwards' hand copy, made in 1948, succeeded in reading some signs in the first three year compartments, plus part of the titulary towards the left-hand end of the register. Re-examination of CF1 in 1995 could not confirm Edwards' copy, only a couple of signs being distinguishable. The tantalising signs in Edwards' copy make r.IV one of the most important parts of CF1 for the reconstruction of the royal annals as a whole. However, the interpretation of CF1 r.IV presents formidable problems.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KINGS IN THE FOURTH REGISTER

Edwards' hand-copy of CF1 shows the Seth animal in two consecutive compartments (CF1 r.IV.2 and r.IV.3). In CF1 r.IV.2 the Seth animal appears within a rectangle, presumably indicating the name of a building. In the following year (CF1 r.IV.3), a rectangular enclosure apparently precedes the writing of the Seth animal. The occurrences of the Seth animal are suggestive, and Edwards

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

thought they ought to signify the reign of Peribsen, since the cult of Seth is known to have gained particular prominence under Peribsen. However, the *serekh* of the second king, whose damaged titulary appears above the left-hand side of CF1 r.IV, seems to be surmounted by a four-legged animal. The only king known to have substituted the Seth animal for the usual Horus falcon atop his *serekh* was Peribsen. Be that as it may, *serekhs* for three shadowy kings in the middle of the Second Dynasty — Nubnefer, Weneg and Sened — are not attested in the few surviving contemporary inscriptions, and it is possible that one or more of these rulers may have adopted the Seth animal as the figure surmounting his *serekh*. Nevertheless, in the absence of any such evidence, and if Edwards' copy of CF1 is correct, the second king in CF1 r.IV is likely to be Peribsen. From the placement of his titulary, he would appear to have reigned a comparatively short time, probably 2+8+2 (i.e. 12) years.

If the second king is to be identified as Peribsen, then the first king must be a predecessor. The absence of a titulary from the surviving portion of the annals relating to the first king indicates that he must have reigned for at least 8+8+8 (i.e. 24) years, a substantial reign. The width of the missing portion between PS and CF1 has been established with some certainty; it cannot have contained both the end of Ninetjer's reign (continued from PS r.IV) and the titulary of a successor. Hence, the first king of CF1 r.IV must be Ninetjer, and the compartments in r.IV must represent the end of his lengthy reign. There is no reason why royal patronage of the cult of Seth should not have occurred in the latter part of Ninetjer's reign, particularly if internal tensions were threatening the cohesion of the state. Attention given to a cult centred in Upper Egypt may have been designed to counteract stirrings of southern autonomy, perhaps exacerbated now that the royal tomb and residence were located at the apex of the Delta.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.IV.1

h^c(t)-nswt-b^ltl mst ³Inpw ...

...

appearance of the dual king; creating (an image of) Anubis ...

...

Ninetjer's nth+1 year

The 'appearance of the dual king' (*h^ct-nswt-b^ltl*) is previously attested for the reign of Ninetjer, in his ninth year (PS r.IV.4). The creation of (a divine image of) Anubis is a common entry in the royal annals (cf. PS r.II.1; CF1 r.II.1, CF1 r.II.9).

CF1 r.IV.2

... [ms]t ...-Sth

...

creating (the building) ...-Seth

...

CF1 r.IV.3

... hwt? Sth

...

... the estate? of Seth

...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Ninetjer's nth+2 and nth+3 years

The references to the god Seth, probably in conjunction with a building, are suggestive, as explained above. However, there is no contemporary evidence for piety to the god Seth in the middle of the Second Dynasty.

CF1 r.IV.4

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.5

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.6

...

...

...

...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.IV.7

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.8

...

ʾ[mḥ] 4? [šsp] 2?ʾ

...

4 [cubits], 2 [palms?]

Ninetjer's penultimate (nth+8) year

The Nile height measurement at the bottom of the compartment is partially legible, from first-hand inspection of CF1.

CF1 r.IV.9

...

...

...

...

change of reign

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Sth-...

The Seth ...

CF1 r.IV.10

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.11

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.12

...

...

...

...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.IV.13

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.14

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.IV.15

...

...

...

...

Fifth Register (Netjerikhet?–Sekhemkhet?)

The fifth register is very badly abraded, and virtually nothing remains of the original inscription (once again cf. Gauthier 1915: 45). Daressy (1916: 169) was able to read parts of the inscriptions in the first two year compartments, and Edwards succeeded in picking out the beginning of a royal titulary at the extreme left-hand edge, but otherwise nothing is legible.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

In his reconstruction of the annals, Kaiser (1961) inserted a reign-change dividing line through the third compartment from the right (CF1 r.V.3) because it fitted his overall scheme of reconstruction (Kaiser 1961: 46). However, no such line is visible on the stone itself, as Borchardt's (1917: pls 2–3) reduced-scale photographs and Edwards' hand-copy clearly show. Yet, this additional dividing line has found its way into subsequent studies of the annals, notably the reconstructions by Helck (1974a) and Barta (1981). Since it is based on assumptions and not on observation of the fragment itself, the existence of such a dividing line cannot be supported. This has profound consequences, both for the reconstruction of the annals and for the identification of the kings in CF1 r.V.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KINGS IN THE FIFTH REGISTER

The titulary of the first king does not appear on CF1, and must therefore have been inscribed on the missing portion of the annals to the right of CF1 recto. From the absence of a titulary, it can be deduced that the first king must have reigned at least $9+7+9$ (i.e. 25) years, since a full royal titulary seems to have spanned seven compartments on r.V. (Borchardt's (1917) reconstruction gave the first king of CF1 r.V a reign of 29 (+2 incomplete) years; Kaiser (1961) reconstructed a span of $26+2$ years between the reign-change on PS r.V and that on CF1 r.V.) If the left-hand edge of PS r.V records the reign of Netjerikhet, then the first king of CF1 r.V must also be Netjerikhet since the missing portion between PS and CF1 would not be large enough to accommodate the titulary and remaining years of Netjerikhet plus the first years and titulary of a successor. Whilst a reign of over twenty years for Netjerikhet does not agree with the information contained in the Turin Canon or Manetho (both of which allot Netjerikhet/Djoser nineteen years), it seems entirely plausible in light of the archaeological evidence. The Step Pyramid complex underwent several changes of plan during the course of its construction, and it must have taken a considerable time to build, even though it was still unfinished at the time of Netjerikhet's death.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The identification of the first king in CF1 r.V as Netjerikhet would necessarily point to Netjerikhet's successor as the second king. From the placement of his titulary (which begins immediately above his first year compartment), he cannot have reigned more than 7 years. This would agree with the archaeological evidence for Sekhemkhet (Netjerikhet's successor), who left behind few monuments and did not live long enough to complete more than the substructure of his planned step pyramid complex at Saqqara.

CF1 r.V.1

šms-Hr ...

...

'following of Horus'; ...

...

Netjerikhet (his nineteenth year?)

The 'following of Horus' read by Daressy indicates that this year was an odd-numbered year in the reign of Netjerikhet, since previous instances of the event are recorded in the king's third and fifth years (PS r.V.10, PS r.V.12). The reconstructions by Kaiser (1961) and Barta (1981) would indicate that this compartment records the nineteenth year of the king in question (calculated from the width of the missing portion between PS and CF1).

CF1 r.V.2

h^c(t)-nswt-bỉỉ mst Ỉnpw

...

appearance of the dual king; creating (an image of) Anubis

...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Netjerikhet (his twentieth year?)

The ‘appearance of the dual king’ repeats an event recorded for Netjerikhet’s second and fourth years (PS r.V.9, PS r.V.11) as well as his year of accession (PS r.V.8). Since CF1 r.V.2 apparently records an even-numbered year, it seems likely that the ‘appearance of the dual king’ marked alternate years in the annals of Netjerikhet.

CF1 r.V.3

...

...

...

...

{ *change of reign* }

CF1 r.V.4

...

...

...

...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF1 r.V.5

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.V.6

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.V.7

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.V.8

...

...

...

...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

CF1 r.V.9

...

...

...

...

CF1 r.V.10

...

...

...

...

change of reign

Hr-...

The Horus [Sekhemkhet?]

CF1 r.V.11

...

...

...

...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Sekhemkhet's (?) first year

Nothing remains of the entries in this compartment.

CF1 r.V.12

...

...

...

...

Sekhemkhet's (?) second year

Nothing remains of the entries in this compartment.

CF1 r.V.13

...

...

...

...

Sekhemkhet's (?) third year

Only the extreme bottom right-hand corner of this compartment is preserved at the left-hand edge of CF1.

Sixth Register (Sneferu?)

illegible

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Although most of CF1 r.VI is so worn as to be illegible, Daressy (1916: 169) succeeded in identifying two signs in the titulary band: the folded cloth (*s*) and a figure of a king enthroned. Logic would dictate that the king in question (whose annals appear in the corresponding register of PS) is Sneferu; but this cannot be confirmed from the inscription itself.

Seventh Register (Khufu)

The majority of CF1 r.VII has been worn away, although a few dividing lines and a small group of signs are still visible. Daressy (1916: 169) examined CF1 and reported that r.VII lacked a titulary band, unlike the corresponding register of PS. According to the traditional interpretation of PS, this would constitute powerful evidence that the two fragments do not belong to the same original, since it is very unlikely that two fragments so closely juxtaposed would have differed so dramatically in the composition of their inscriptions. However, Helck (1974a: 33–4) convincingly argued that PS also lacks a titulary band between r.VI and r.VII. Hence, PS and CF1 are entirely compatible, and could easily belong to one and the same original.

CF1 r.VII.x

... ... *H(w)fw ... hn^c n²wt.f*

...; ... Khufu; ... together with its towns

Khufu?

It cannot be established how many compartments originally comprised CF1 r.VII. Daressy (1916: 169) succeeded in reading just three columns of text at the extreme left-hand corner of the register. All that remains in the first column is the seated figure of a king wearing what looks like the double crown.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Next to this sign, at the bottom of the second column, the cartouche of Khufu identifies the reign in question. The first two signs in the cartouche are hard to read with certainty, but the final quail chick (*w*) is relatively clear. The reading *Snfrw* would seem to be excluded by the height of the cartouche, and by the general shape of the first two signs. Khufu's name would seem, therefore, to be written in an abbreviated form, lacking the usual quail chick after the initial *h*-sign.

The third column of text is the best preserved. The inscription reads *hn^c n²wwt.f*, 'together with its/his towns'. The context of the reference is lost, but it probably concerned the establishment of, or donations to, a royal or cultic foundation.

Verso

The verso comprises parts of three registers, spanning the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Interpretation of the entries is particularly difficult, because of the very worn nature of the inscription.

First Register (Menkaura?)

illegible

The first register is almost entirely illegible, but for a few signs on the left-hand side (Gauthier 1915: 45) which may give the Nile height as '... cubits, ...³/₄ fingers' (cf. Clagett 1989: 86, 137 n. 95). By comparison with the verso of PS, it seems likely that the verso of CF1 contained the entries for the end of Menkaura's reign.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Second Register (Userkaf)

The entries belong to the third and fourth years of the reign of Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty. Four columns of text are all that remain of the king's third year (CF1 v.II.1), whilst a larger part of his fourth year (CF1 v.II.2) is preserved intact. If we assume that the Nile height measurement was placed fairly centrally in each compartment, then quite a large part of Userkaf's fourth year is likely to be missing on the left-hand side.

CF1 v.II.1

*...t 3ht? tp-htp? ... 303 ln(w).n.sn n Wsr-k3.f-w^cb-swt h3st? st? 70
rnpt m-ht zp tp^l inwt*

...

... (and) 303 prisoners? were brought for (the pyramid) 'Userkaf is pure(st) of places' (together with?) 70 women? of the hill-country?
year after the first occasion of the cattle-census

...

Userkaf's third year

Although four columns of text are visible in the photograph of the fragment, Gauthier's (1915) rendition of the first two columns makes little sense. Daressy (1916: 171) offered a more plausible rendering of the second column, offering a translation for the whole entry:

'1 chef, 303 prisonniers du Kenti et 70 femmes du désert, des bédouines, ont été amenés à la pyramide du roi, évidemment pour les travaux de sa construction.'

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Roccati (1982: 43) offered the alternative translation:

‘Venir sur la route devant (?) la forteresse. Produits qu’ils ont apportés à la pyramide «Ouserkaf a de places pures»: étrangers 70.’

The reference to (captives from?) a foreign land is obscure, though it may record booty captured in battle and presented to the king’s pyramid temple. Userkaf’s pyramid, called ‘Userkaf is pure(st) of places’, is located at Saqqara, near the north-eastern corner of the Step Pyramid complex.

The final column identifies the year as ‘the year after the first occasion of the cattle census’, in other words the king’s third year on the throne.

CF1 v.II.2

nswt-błtł Wsr-k3.f ĩr.n.f m mnw.f n ĥwt-ntr ...

b3w ²Iwnw smnt n.sn ĥtpt-ntr t ĥnqt 4252+x/4255 k3 43 ... 3pd 133 ...

m zp tpł n ĥb-rnpt ? n ĥb-rnpt nbt m 3wt dt

R^c 3ĥt st3t 44 ĥwt-ntr Ĥwt-Ĥr? [3ĥt st3t] 23 ... nt-ĥnt? Wsr-k3.f w^cb swt šms...

mĥ 3 šsp 2 db^cw?

the dual king Userkaf: he made as his endowment for: the temple ...

the souls of Heliopolis:

establishing for them divine offerings: 4252+x/**4255** bread-and-beer offerings, 43 cattle ..., 133 fowl ..., on the first occasion of the (New?-)year-festival? ... (and on) every (subsequent?) (New?-)year festival? ...

Ra: 44 arouras of arable land ...

Hathor?:

23 arouras (of arable land) ... in front of? (the pyramid) ‘Userkaf is pure(st) of places’; the follow(ing?) ...

3 cubits, 2 palms, three fingers?

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Userkaf's fourth year

From the first reign of the Fifth Dynasty, we already see the devotion to solar religion that was to characterise the succeeding reigns. The first-named recipient of royal largesse is the body called 'the souls of Heliopolis'. Daressy's (1916) transcription of CF1 recto shows just three groups of signs comprising the list of offerings, namely 'bread and beer, 'cattle' and 'fowl'. Roccati (1982: 43), however, supplements these with '4 ibex and 12 ducks' and amends the number of fowl to 132. He also translates the occasion on which these offerings were donated as 'la première fois de la fête du quart lunaire', and adds a further clause to his translation 'Virement circulaire jusqu'au jour de toute fête du quart lunaire pour la durée de l'éternité'. It is not clear how Roccati arrived at these modifications.

The sun god Ra is endowed with arable land, perhaps reapportioned from the mortuary estate established to provide for Userkaf's pyramid temple. The redistribution and reapportioning of land and offerings in this way was a feature of Old Kingdom pious foundations. In accordance with the principles of his 'place value system', Clagett (1989: 88) gives a total of $448\frac{3}{8}$ arouras for the donation to Ra, and $235\frac{1}{2}$ arouras for the donation to Hathor. Roccati (1982: 44) offers a plausible translation for the final preserved entry:

'Bâtir le mur ... de Hathor dans (le complexe de) la pyramide «Ouserkaf
a de places pures».'

The precise rituals which accompanied calendrical festivals such as the '(New?-)year-festival (?)' are not attested. Nevertheless, we can readily appreciate the importance of such pivotal dates in the year to the Egyptians, dependent as they were on the regular annual cycle of seasons for their continued prosperity (cf. Bleeker 1967: 32–3).

Due to the poor state of preservation of the signs, it is impossible to decide whether the Nile height measurement records 3 cubits, 2 palms and 3 fingers or 3 cubits, 2 palms and $2\frac{1}{2}$ fingers (Clagett 1989: 88).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Third Register (Sahura)

The Third Register contains entries belonging to the reign of Userkaf's successor, Sahura. From the position of CF1 in relation to the better-preserved verso of PS, we may establish that the verso of CF1 records the second and third years of Sahura's reign. The first three columns on the right-hand side of the stone are all that remain of his second year, and the text of his third year is badly effaced, making an accurate translation and interpretation almost impossible.

CF1 v.III.1

3bd? m ... n r(3) ... twt S^chw-R^c 6 ... zp tpⁱ hr-^ct? gm(t) pr-Hr-Sth rnpt phr ...
...

the month? as ... [opening?] of the mouth ... six likenesses of Sahura ...
the first occasion (of) **publishing**? the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth;
the year of circumambulating ...
...

Sahura's second year

The reference to 'six likenesses of Sahura' is interesting, as it illustrates that the production of royal statuary was an activity of great significance to the court. To the ancient Egyptian mind, a statue was not an inanimate object, but a living likeness with magical power. Roccati (1982: 46) adds that the statues are said to be of electrum, although signs to this effect are not readily legible on CF1 in its present condition.

The year is identified by the 'first occasion' of an event which is difficult to translate and interpret. Daressy (1916: 175–6) noted the occurrence of similar entries on PS (v.II.1 and v.III.1) in the fifth year of Userkaf and the fifth year of his successor Sahura. In these two cases, the event seems to be the '(making of an) inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth'. The reference in CF1 v.III.1 is

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

slightly different, having an additional word *hr-^ct* (?) inserted before the term for ‘inventory’ (*gm(t)*). Hence, Daressy offered the inspired suggestion ‘première fois de rédaction de l’inventaire de la maison d’Hor-Set’, ‘first time of publishing the inventory of the House-of-Horus-and-Seth’. Since this occurred in Sahura’s second year, it may indicate that the beginning of a new reign was marked by an inventory of the palace (or of the royal estate as a whole — see commentary to PS v.II.1), which was published for the first time the following year. If this is accurate, the annalists of the Fifth Dynasty would have had two different, parallel schemes at their disposal for identifying a particular year of a king’s reign. First, there was the system of biennial (cattle) counts, the first of which took place in the king’s second year on the throne. Second, there would have been a system of biennial inventories, the first of which seems to have been compiled in the king’s first year (and published in the king’s second year).

CF1 v.III.2

nswt-bꜣtꜣ S^chw-R^cꜣr.n.f m mnw.f n (i)t.f? ...

...

the dual king Sahura: he made as his endowment for: his father? ...

...

Sahura’s third year

The inscription was too worn for Gauthier to hazard a transcription (Gauthier 1915: 47), but the beginning of the entry followed the standard form, introducing the pious donations made by the king to various cults.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

THE SMALLER FRAGMENTS

Four out of five smaller fragments of the annals are in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The fifth, purchased by Petrie, belongs to the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College, London. The London fragment is unique among the smaller fragments in preserving portions of both the recto and the verso. Although the inscriptions on the smaller fragments are, in general, quite legible, major problems of interpretation remain; particularly as it is difficult with complete confidence to correlate the smaller fragments with the major portions of the annals analysed above.

CAIRO FRAGMENT 2 (JdE 39735)

The recto preserves the lower part of one register and the upper part of another, with no intervening titulary band. By their general character, the disposition of the signs, and the occurrence of the cartouche of Khufu, the entries preserved on the recto of CF2 seem to belong to the first half of the Fourth Dynasty. The verso is completely destroyed.

Recto

Upper Register (Khufu)

Only part of a single year compartment is preserved. The position of the Nile height measurement suggests that we have the central portion of the compartment, and that a significant section is missing on the right-hand side.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

CF2 r.U.1

(statue of goddess ... statue of king in red crown) 14 [*Hw*]fw *mr*ⁱ ... *mḥ*? 100 ...
mḥ 3+x šsp 6 *db*^cw

... 14; beloved of [Khu]fu ... 100 cubits? ...

3+x cubits, 6 palms, three fingers

Khufu

This year seems to record the creation and/or donation of at least two statues, one of a goddess and the other of the king himself. The fragmentary text may indicate that the latter measured 14 cubits in height (cf. Roccati 1982: 41), in which case it would have been a very substantial piece of statuary.

The cartouche of Khufu, next to a statue of the king wearing the red crown, probably indicates that this year does indeed belong to the reign of Khufu. (With the exception of the cartouche of Huni, most references to royal names seems to occur in the reigns of the kings concerned: compare the frequent cartouches of the Fifth Dynasty kings on the verso of PS and CF1). The phrase *mr*ⁱ]-*Hw*fw, ‘beloved of Khufu’, may refer to a locality, since royal foundations were often given ‘loyal’ names of this kind (cf. PS v.IV.3). Note that O’Mara (1979: 128) casts doubt on the authenticity of CF2, arguing that ‘it is inconceivable that the figure of the pharaoh would have been drawn in single-line match-stick style’.

The numerals are difficult to interpret. The reference to *mḥ* 100, ‘a hundred cubits’, may indicate that this year included an entry concerned with ship-building, an activity of major importance in the annals of Khufu’s predecessor Sneferu (cf. PS r.VI.2–3).

Clagett (1989: 85) gives the Nile height measurement as 3 cubits, 6 palms and 3½ fingers, but this is hard to see on the original fragment.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Lower Register (Khufu)

The upper parts of two consecutive years are preserved. The absence of any royal name makes it difficult to identify the reign in question with complete certainty. However, given that (at least the latter part of) the reign of Menkaura was recorded on the *verso* of the annals, it seems most plausible that we have here (on the recto) years from the latter part of Khufu's reign. A further indication that the two registers belong to one and the same reign may be the absence of any intervening band for the royal titulary. Such a band would have been unnecessary if the king's reign spanned more than one register and his titulary already appeared above the register comprising the first part of his reign.

CF2 r.L.1

hwz? ... smnt n (hb-?)sd ms(t) wp-r(3) Hr-ntrw ... Hnmw? ...

...

constructing? ... established for the *sed*(-festival?); creating and (performing the) 'opening of the mouth' (ceremony) for (a divine image of) 'Horus of the gods'? and Khnum?

...

Khufu

The first legible entry seems to concern construction of some kind. The verb *hwz* means to 'pound', 'beat up', 'make flat', and hence to 'build (with bricks)'. Here, it probably indicates a reference to the construction of a mudbrick building.

The word *sd...* is tantalising. It may refer to the god Sed, but it may also be a reference to a *sed*-festival. According to the Turin Canon, Khufu reigned for 23 years, although both Herodotus and Manetho give him a reign of 63 years. There is very little contemporary evidence for the length of Khufu's reign (Beckerath 1975). Astronomical calculations, based on the orientation of the Fourth Dynasty

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

kings' pyramids, indicate that Khufu reigned for 23 years (Spence 1997: 45), and hence that the Turin Canon preserves the correct figure. Even if Khufu did not reign for thirty years, this would not have prevented him from holding a *sed*-festival, since it is clear that this could be celebrated before a king's thirtieth jubilee. The factors which prompted a particular king to hold a *sed*-festival are likely to have been many and varied. In conclusion, the first two columns, taken together, may record the construction of a special building for the king's *sed*-festival (Gauthier 1915: 49).

The remaining entries are familiar in their subject-matter: 'creating' and giving life to one or more cult images. The phrase *wp(t)-r(3)*, 'opening of the mouth', is generally considered to be the earliest known reference to this ritual, by which statues were 'given life' and transformed into living, breathing entities. The reference to the god Horus marks the earliest reign in the annals where the god of kingship is explicitly mentioned. The translation 'Horus of the gods' is tentative, but seems to be suggested by the hieroglyphs themselves. They are followed by the sign for an unidentified ram-deity, most probably Khnum. Khnum seems to have been Khufu's personal god, judging from the full writing of his name *Hnmw-hw.f-wi*², 'Khnum: he protects me'. Indeed, it is possible that we have here a reference to the king himself, referred to as 'Horus of the gods, Khnum-khufu' (Roccati 1982: 41). In this case, the text suggests that a statue of the king would have been afforded the same treatment as divine images.

CF2 r.L.2

h^c(t)-nswt ... šms?(-Hr?) ... rnw ...

...

appearance of the king as *nswt* ... following (of Horus?) ...

...

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Khufu

The year opens with an ‘appearance of the king as *nswt*’, an event which recalls the annals of the First and Second Dynasties. This is followed, in the second column of text, by an event which appears to be the familiar ‘following of Horus’, although the signs differ from the usual writing (the inclusion of an initial *š* is unprecedented). The biennial royal progress, such a feature of the annals in the first three dynasties, seems to have fallen into abeyance early in the Fourth Dynasty. It is not mentioned in the surviving annals of Sneferu, and it may have been resurrected under Khufu, keen to promote a vigorous new image of absolute rule, perhaps by harking back to some of the earlier practices of kingship. It is noteworthy that the events recorded for Khufu’s reign on CF2 resemble those of the first three dynasties much more than those of Khufu’s predecessor Sneferu or his successor Menkaura. This is one reason why doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the fragment (O’Mara 1979).

Verso

not preserved

CAIRO FRAGMENT 3 (JdE 39734)

Only the recto has been preserved, and even here the signs are heavily worn. Moreover, the signs are crudely executed, like those on CF1–2 but quite unlike the well-formed signs on PS. The surviving entries comprise the lower part of one register and the upper part of another with an intervening titulary band. The presence of a royal cartouche dates the annals preserved on this fragment to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

Recto

Upper Register (Khufu?)

Since CF3 adjoins the bottom of CF1, the upper register of CF3 may be regarded as corresponding to CF1 r.VII (cf. Daressy 1916: 170). By comparison with the surviving portion of CF1 r.VII, CF3 r.U may be assigned to the reign of Khufu.

CF3 r.U.1

...

mh 3

...

3 cubits

(Khufu?)

Only the lowest section of the compartment, giving the Nile height measurement, is preserved.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Lower Register (Djedefra)

The lower register of CF3 may be regarded as equivalent to the eighth register of CF1 (recto). The upper part of a single year compartment is preserved in CF3 r.L. The text was hesitatingly reconstructed by Gauthier (1915: 50), who noted the very great difficulties inherent in reading a worn and fragmentary inscription. He mistakenly read the cartouche as that of Neferefra, and hence wrongly assigned this portion of the annals to the Fifth Dynasty. Given that v.I of the annals (PS and CF1) seems to have recorded the end of the Fourth Dynasty, we should not expect to find the middle of the Fifth Dynasty recorded on the recto! Gauthier seems to have been unaware of this contradiction.

Daressy (1916: 170) corrected Gauthier's erroneous reading, and showed that the cartouche is that of Djedefra, Khufu's ephemeral successor. Since the annals record the reigns of Menkaura and Shepseskaf on the first register of the verso, it is possible that the recto originally featured a ninth register comprising the annals of the latter part of Khafra's reign (*contra* Daressy 1916: 170). However, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed, since it depends on a reconstruction of the complete annals stone.

The text is arranged in seven columns. No vertical dividing lines are visible, so it is probable that all seven columns belong to a single year compartment.

CF3 r.L.1

... 20 3bd? 1+x *ḥtmw-bīṯ* zš-ntrw ... mḥ 20 *db^cṯ* m3ṯ m *ḥwt-nbw?*
nswt-bīṯ *Dd.f-R^c ṯr.n.f* m *mn(w).f* n [*mwt.f*] B3stt ... m ...

... year? 20, month? 1+x: the royal seal-bearer and god's scribe ... (of) 20 cubits
and two fingers (a block of) granite for the (king's) burial-chamber;
the dual king Djedefra: he made as his monument for [his mother] Bastet: ...
in/from/as ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Djedefra

The first column of text seems to include the designation of a period of time. The original context is lost, so the significance of the figure cannot be established.

The title *ḥtmw-bꜣtꜣ*, ‘royal seal-bearer’ (sometimes rendered as ‘royal chancellor’) is well attested in the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom. This individual was one of the most important government officials, presiding over the treasury, the administrative department responsible for managing the Egyptian economy to the benefit of the royal court (and providing it with the income to carry out its projects). Here, the title is accompanied by another, rarer designation, *zš-nꜥr*, ‘god’s scribe’. The reference as a whole must be to the official who was charged with supervising the event described in the next column of text. The measurement of twenty cubits and two fingers at the end of the first text column probably refers forwards to the subsequent text.

The word *m3ꜥ* is usually translated as ‘granite’ (Erman and Grapow (eds) 1928: 34). Here, the stone block is stated to be for or from *ḥwt-nbw*. When accompanied by the town-sign as a determinative, this toponym refers to the travertine quarries at Hatnub in the eastern desert of Middle Egypt (Gauthier 1927: 79). Unless *m3ꜥ* refers to a less specific hard stone, rather than granite (cf. Erman and Grapow (eds) 1928: 34, for examples of more general meanings), such a translation would make little sense, since granite does not occur in the vicinity of Hatnub. Indeed, the orthography here probably indicates a different translation: *ḥwt-nbw* could also signify the burial- or sarcophagus-chamber of the royal tomb (Gauthier 1927: 78–9) (as well as the royal workshop where statues were made from precious metals (Faulkner 1991: 166)). The absence of a town-sign as determinative suggests that the term *ḥwt-nbw* does indeed refer to the king’s burial chamber (cf. Daressy 1916: 170); hence, the granite block in question was destined *for* this locality rather than coming *from* it.

The use of granite in the construction of the royal tomb is well attested in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. The King’s Chamber (sarcophagus chamber or *ḥwt-nbw*) in Khufu’s pyramid at Giza was ‘entirely constructed out of red granite’ (Lehner 1997: 111). The third pyramid at Giza made an even greater use of this

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

stone: the burial chamber of Menkaura's pyramid was encased in granite, and its ceiling was constructed from huge granite slabs (Lehner 1997: 136). However, the reference in CF3 r.L.1 seems to be to the pyramid of Djedefra, Khufu's immediate successor. In a break with precedent, this monument was built on the northernmost edge of the Memphite necropolis, at Abu Rawash. Unfortunately, it was largely destroyed in the Roman period, so that little remains today. 'Great quantities of granite casing lie all around' (Lehner 1997: 120) but it is impossible to establish whether the king's burial chamber was originally made from or encased in granite blocks. Yet, given that Khufu's sarcophagus chamber was built of granite, it is not unlikely that his son Djedefra followed a similar pattern for the construction of his own final resting place.

The cartouche in the fourth column of text is difficult to read; but, from the position of the compartment as a whole on the recto of the annals, Daressy (1916: 170) realised that the cartouche could not be that of the Fifth Dynasty king Neferefra. He concluded that it must be the name of Khufu's ephemeral successor, Djedefra (also known as Radjedef).

Based upon Sethe's reading (Kees 1922: 123–4), Roccati (1982: 42; followed by Clagett 1989: 86) offers an entirely different translation for the first part of this compartment:

'... 30 + x bateaux ... Décorer les stèles aux serpents (du Domaine des stèles), mesurant 14 coudées et 2 doigts, en granit, dans l'atelier.'

While the phrase *hwt-nbw* could, as we have seen, be translated 'royal workshop' ('atelier'), the surviving inscription, as it stands, does not seem to support the rest of this reading. In particular, it is difficult to see any reference to the *senut(i)*-shrine, unless the two fingers (*db^cn*) are taken for stelae (*snwt*²).

The remainder of the entry follows the usual Old Kingdom dedication formula ('the dual king N: he made as his monument for:'). The cult mentioned in this context as the recipient of the king's largesse is that of the goddess Bastet, centred at the Delta site of Bubastis (although Bastet may originally have been a more

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

universal deity). Her connection with royal foundations goes back to the beginning of the Second Dynasty: stone bowls inscribed with the *serekh* of Hetepsekhemwy from the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara mention the ‘provisioning of (the cult of) Bastet’ (Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 13, nos 63–6), and probably came from the furniture of her cult temple. The cult of Bastet seems to have remained associated with the king throughout the Old Kingdom. Pepi I built a *ka*-chapel within the precincts of the Bastet temple at Bubastis (Seidlmayer 1996: 125).

Daressy (1916: 170) offers a slightly different translation of the whole entry:

‘un bloc de granit de 20 coudées et 2 doigts apporté pour le tombeau de Didourfê [Djedefra] et de monuments qu’il avait dédiés à la déesse Bast’.

Verso

not preserved

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CAIRO FRAGMENT 4 (JdE 44860)

Like CF2 and CF3, CF4 is preserved only on one side which, by the nature of the entries, is assumed to be the recto. Remains of three registers survive, with no intervening titulary bands. If the fragment, as is generally assumed, belongs to the very base of the original annals stone, it follows that the annals would originally have comprised eight registers on the recto.

Recto

Upper Register (Sneferu)

The lower part of this register is preserved, including the section bearing the Nile height measurements. There is evidence for sloppy cutting on this part of the stone: the lines dividing the text columns are too long, and they impinge on the band at the bottom of the year compartments. This gives the impression that the upper register comprises four consecutive years (Gauthier 1915: 51 n. 1); in reality, it probably records only two years, the other dividing lines being extended text-column dividers. It is curious that lines are used at all to divide columns of text, since this is not a feature of PS recto as preserved. It may be that lines to divide the text into columns were only introduced for the later annals (in which each year comprises multiple entries), on the bottom of the recto and on the verso.

One vertical dividing line is noticeably heavier than the others. This probably represents the only year division, especially as it follows an enumeration of the census (which was always noted at the end of the entries for a particular year). The next column of text has no Nile height measurement beneath it, suggesting that it does not represent a separate year compartment. The narrow width of the second, third and fourth 'compartments' also indicates that they are probably text columns comprising a single year rather than separate years.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

CF4 r.U.1

... *hwt.f* ... *pr Snfrw bn(r)wt* ... *hd hsbḏ zp 2 tnwt*
mḥ 3

... his chapel? ... the estate of Sneferu: date-palms? ... silver and lapis lazuli;
second occasion of the census
3 cubits

Sneferu's fourth year

Gauthier (1915) could not read the signs in the cartouche, but — in view of the *serekh* of Nebmaat in the following year — it seemed to him likely that it was the name of Sneferu. Daressy (1916: 173) succeeded in reading the name, confirming that it refers to Sneferu, and restored the signs below the cartouche. The determinatives clearly refer to trees, but the identification of the type of tree is problematic. As restored by Daressy, the signs give the reading *bnt*; yet no known tree has this name in ancient Egyptian. It seems most likely that the trees in question are in fact date-palms (*bnrt*), and that the writing preserved on this annals fragment is abbreviated (cf. Erman and Grapow (eds) 1926: 462). (Note that the word for date-palm in Coptic (BÑNE, BENI) lacks the medial *r*; hence the spelling attested here may reflect the pronunciation more accurately.)

The entry mentions two precious materials, silver and lapis lazuli. The context is lost but probably refers to commodities brought back from foreign trading expeditions (compare PS v.IV.1). (Clagett's (1989: 51) suggestion that the entry refers to a 'counting of silver and lapis lazuli' cannot be supported.) The spelling of *hsbḏ*, 'lapis lazuli', is the usual Old Kingdom form, as found in the Pyramid Texts, whereas the writing *hsbd* is more common in New Kingdom texts (Faulkner 1991: 197).

The last entry records *zp 2 tnwt*, 'second occasion of the census', suggesting that this compartment corresponds to Sneferu's fourth year as king.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF4 r.U.2

... *pr-wr* ... *pr-nw snwt*(?) ... *Nb-m3^ct* (statue of king) ...

mḥ 3 šsp 5

... the *per-wer* ... the *per-nu*, the *senut(i)*-shrine ... (the statue called) 'Nebmaat ...'? ...

3 cubits, 5 palms

Sneferu's fifth year

The first text column contains references to the national shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt, namely the *per-wer* and *per-nu*. Each is shown with the appropriate determinative. The close connection between these two shrines and the *senut(i)*-shrine is emphasised once again.

The second text column gives the *serekh* of *Nb-m3^ct*, Nebmaat, the Horus-name of Sneferu, next to a figure with a (bull's) tail which almost certainly represents the king (although the head is lost). This entry may refer to a statue of the king, with a name including his Horus-name, much as a statue of Khasekhemwy was called 'high is Khasekhemwy' (PS v.V.4). It is difficult to see any trace of a sign which could support Clagett's (1989: 83) suggestion that the statue of Nebmaat was fashioned 'in copper'. The second column has a Nile height measurement beneath it, indicating that it stands roughly in the middle of this particular year compartment.

The text of the third column is lost. There seems to be a Nile height measurement in the band beneath it, but this must surely give the smaller divisions (palms/spans and fingers) rather than a separate measurement in cubits, since the cubit measurement already appears to the right. The signs in this part of the fragment are so indistinct that a secure interpretation is practically impossible.

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Middle Register (Sneferu)

The middle register of CF4 is not topped by a titulary band. This may indicate that its compartments belong to the same king as those in the upper register. Certainly, the content of the surviving entries is reminiscent of the annals of Sneferu in PS r.VI. The most plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the Middle Register comprises entries from the reign of Sneferu (cf. Krauss 1996: 45). The lower part of the register is not preserved, so it is difficult to tell whether the vertical lines are year divisions or merely lines dividing columns of text. The latter seems more likely, given the absence of any recognisable *rnpt*-sign at the top of the register.

CF4 r.M.1

hw? h^c(t)-nswt zp 4 phrr Hpw ms ... (serekh) (statue of king in white crown) ...
inw m Thnw sqr(w)-nh 1100 wt 23,000? ... (cartouche?) ...
... šsp 2

... appearance of the king as *nswt*; fourth occasion of the running of Apis;
creating (a statue of) the Horus Sneferu; ... what was brought from Libya: 1100
live captives (and) 23,000? ‘small cattle’; ... Ita? ...
... [cubits], 2 palms

Sneferu

The reference to the ‘fourth occasion of the running of Apis’ (read as such by Daressy 1916: 174) indicates that this year belongs to the latter part of a lengthy reign, since the numbering of this religious event began again from one at the beginning of each reign. This adds weight to the identification of the reign in question as being that of Sneferu, allotted 24 years by the Turin Canon but now known to have reigned for over thirty (Krauss 1996). The first text column also seems to have recorded the creation of a statue of the king (compare the previous

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

register CF4 r.U.2). Traces remain of a royal figure wearing the white crown and carrying a staff or sceptre, preceded by a *serekh*.

The text in the second column is both legible and comprehensible. It enumerates 'what was brought from *T3-Thnw*'. This last term was used to denote Libya, the land to the west of Egypt. Military activity (or, at least, the ideological importance of such activity) against *T3-Thnw* is attested as early as the threshold of the First Dynasty, on the so-called 'Libyan palette' and again on an ivory cylinder of Narmer from Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900: pl. XV.5; Kaplony 1963, III: pl. 5 fig. 5, for a clearer illustration; cf. Wilkinson 1999: 162). In the annals, the booty brought from Libya includes 1100 live captives (both male and female), together with *wt*, 'small cattle' (in other words, sheep and goats). This entry is very reminiscent of PS r.VI.2, which records similar booty captured during a military campaign against Nubia. It seems as though, in the annals of Sneferu, we have more than one reference to Egyptian aggression against foreign lands. This may reflect a new, more militaristic ideology of kingship, or a change in the nature of Egypt's foreign relations, or both.

The third column begins with a word of unknown reading; the determinative seems to be a man hacking at (?) a pool. There follow the traces of a cartouche. The signs inside are very indistinct, but Gauthier (1915: 53) reconstructed the name as Ita (*It3*), the cartouche-name given to the fourth king of the First Dynasty (Wadj/Djet) in the Abydos king list. If this reconstruction is correct, this entry may refer to a royal foundation of the First Dynasty which was still maintained several hundred years later. However, the reading must remain highly doubtful, given the poor legibility of the signs. (They are so lightly incised that they are only legible at all after the addition of chalk dust (Gauthier 1915: 51).)

Lower Register (Khufu?)

Only a few signs are still legible in the lower register of CF4. It seems to preserve the remains of a single year, probably dating to the early or mid-Fourth Dynasty. (This can be established from the position of the compartment in the original

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

annals, and from the nature of the entries). The identity of the reign in question cannot, however, be determined since there is no titulary band above the register, nor any surviving royal name amongst the entries. Most likely, the year belongs to the annals of Khufu since his reign (and that of his successor Djedefra) seems to have occupied the eighth register of the recto of the annals (compare CF2–3). However, it is noteworthy that the reconstructed text of the entry — with the standard dedication formula — is more characteristic of Djedefra’s annals (as recorded on CF3) than of the annals of Khufu attested on CF2.

CF4 r.L.1

...w ... *ʔr.n.f m m[nw.f n]* ... *ʔr ḥsbḏ* ... *m mn(w).f* ... *ḏr.f* *gm(t?)* ...

... he made as (his monument for) ...: the making (in) lapis lazuli (of) ... as his monument (for) ... its entirety inventory? ...

Khufu?

The entry follows the standard pattern for the annals of the later Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, with an introductory sentence preceding details of the king’s pious donations. Lapis lazuli (*ḥsbḏ*) is listed among the materials presented by the king, but the rest of the entry cannot be restored. The recipients of the king’s largesse cannot be identified with any certainty. The hieroglyph of a stooping bird at the end of the preserved section of text has been interpreted as a reference to the ibis god Thoth. However, it may instead be the sign *gm*, for *gm(t)*, ‘inventory’, and may refer to the event attested elsewhere in the annals (PS v.II.1, PS v.III.1).

Verso

not preserved

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CAIRO FRAGMENT 5 (No. 18220)

Like CF2–4, CF5 is preserved on one side only. By the nature of the entries (which refer to the First Dynasty), this side is assumed to be the recto. Remains of two registers survive. The titulary band above the lower register shows the *serekh* of Den, suggesting that the fragment came from a position a short distance to the right of PS recto (Cenival 1965: 17).

Recto

Upper Register (Aha?)

The lower part of this register is preserved, including the compartments for the Nile height measurements. However, these compartments are empty. This accords with the presumed position of the fragment in the original annals (corresponding to PS r.II). Following the disposition of reigns on PS, the upper register of CF5 would comprise years from the latter part of the reign of Aha. On PS the compartments of this reign show no Nile height measurements (which only commence in the following reign).

CF5 r.U.1

...

...

Aha?

Only the left-hand bottom corner of the compartment survives, preserving a trace of a single sign. The sign is unreadable, although it bears some resemblance to the pendulous tail of a canid (as in the sign for the god Anubis). The year is unlikely

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

to record the creation of (an image of) Anubis, since in such entries the sign for Anubis (a recumbent jackal) precedes the signs for ‘creating’ (*mst*).

CF5 r.U.2

mst [²*I*]*npw*

creating (an image of) Anubis

Aha?

The lower part of the main compartment is preserved. The entry can be restored, with little difficulty, as *mst* ²*Inpw*, a common event in the annals (cf. PS r.II.1, PS r.II.10; CF1 r.II.1, CF1 r.II.9, CF1 r.IV.1). A wooden label of Aha from Abydos mentions the same event (Petrie 1901: pl. 11, top; Wilkinson 1999: fig. 5.3 (3)), providing contemporary, First Dynasty evidence for this annals entry.

CF5 r.U.3

...*t k3*?

... the bull?

Aha?

The bottommost two signs in the compartment are partially preserved; the first is clearly the *t*-sign, and the second sign seems to be a bull or other bovid. Cenival (1965: 15) suggested the reading [*ms*]*t* *Hpw*, ‘creating (an image of) Apis’, but this seems most unlikely on several counts. First, the hieroglyph for the god usually precedes the word ‘creating (an image of)’ (*mst*). Second, the placement and size of the *t*-sign argue against it having formed part of the word *mst*: compare the orthography of this word in the two adjacent compartments. Third, as a sacred bull (connected with the god Ptah) but not exactly a deity, it is doubtful

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

whether Apis would have been represented by a cult statue. The meaning of the entry thus remains unclear.

CF5 r.U.4

mst [²Inp]w

creating (an image of) Anubis

Aha?

Once again, only portions of the bottommost signs are preserved, but the entry may be reconstructed as *mst ²Inpw*, repeating the event named in CF5 r.U.2. Since two years so close to one another could not have been designated by the same combination of events, it must be concluded that the first entry in compartments CF5 r.U.2 and CF5 r.U.4 must have been different in each case, allowing the two years to be distinguished. The creation of an image of Anubis would have been the secondary event of both years.

CF5 r.U.5

...

...

Aha?

Only a small, uninscribed portion of the lower right-hand corner survives.

Lower Register (Den)

The lower register is preserved to its full height, including the titulary band which bears the first part of the titulary of Den (giving the king's Horus name). Three

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

compartments survive largely intact, together with the majority of a fourth and small areas of a fifth and a sixth compartment. Nile heights are preserved for just two years, the others having been lost or damaged beyond recognition. The placement of the titulary indicates that the register comprises years from the first half of Den's reign.

Hr-D(w)n ...

The Horus Den ...

CF5 r.L.1

... *Hd-wr?*

...

... Hedj-wer

...

Den

The first entry refers to the 'great white' baboon (*Hd-wr*); it may originally have read *mst Hd-wr*, 'creating (an image of) Hedj-wer'. Perhaps a deity embodying the royal ancestors, Hedj-wer is first attested unequivocally on an ivory label of Semerkhet from Abydos, although a baboon statue inscribed with the *serekh* of Narmer may represent Hedj-wer (Wilkinson 1999: 285). Of particular interest for the interpretation of the annals entry is the figure of an enthroned baboon shown before a statue of Den on a seal-impression from Saqqara (Kaplony 1963, III: fig. 211; Friedman 1995: 33 fig. 19c). This provides a close parallel for CF5 r.L.1 where the baboon also appears to be enthroned (or, at least, sitting on a pedestal). The close similarity between an inscription from the reign of Den and an entry of the same king on CF5 would tend to support the authenticity of this annals fragment (see below).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF5 r.L.2

sqr Sṯt(w)

mḥ 5

smiting the Asiatics

5 cubits

Den

The entry is very similar to that in PS r.III.2 (*sqr ʾIwntiʾw*), except that here the foe is identified as the ‘Asiatic’ rather than the ‘bowmen’. In contemporary inscriptions, the term *Sṯt*, ‘Asiatic’, is first attested at the end of the First Dynasty, on an ivory throwstick from the tomb of Qaa at Abydos (Petrie 1900: pl. XVII.30). The word *Sṯt* appears earlier in the annals, in an entry for the reign of Djer (CF1 r.II.5); here also it is the target of royal aggression. The term *Sṯt(i)* seems to have been applied to (inhabitants of) the northern Sinai and southern Palestine, in other words the lands to the north-east of Egypt. Although there are indications of military activity — whether ritual or actual — against this region from the reign of Den (in the form of three fragmentary year labels and one complete example (cf. Wilkinson 1999: fig. 5.1)), none uses the term *Sṯt(i)* to define the enemy. The entry on CF5 may therefore represent a later interpretation of First Dynasty records.

CF5 r.L.3

mst imi-wt snwt(i)

mḥ 1+x (4?)

creating an *imiut*-fetish (in?) the *senut(i)*-shrine

1+x (4?)cubits

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Den

Cenival (1965: 16) suggested the reading ³*Inpw*, ‘Anubis’, for the *imiut*-fetish, based upon the combination of the fetish and recumbent jackal in CF1 r.III.5. However, the reading *iml̥-wt* seems preferable, and there is good evidence for the creation of such an object having been an important royal activity during the early First Dynasty. For example, the *imiut*-fetish is depicted on a label of Aha, standing in front of the temple of Neith (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 8.9 (3)). The fetish seems to have been a manifestation of royal authority. One scholar has suggested that it played an important role during formal appearances of the king in public, and that a new fetish would have been fashioned to commemorate significant royal events, especially the foundation or dedication of a temple (Logan 1990: 69). If so, its association with the *senut(i)*-shrine may be significant: CF5 r.L.3 is the earliest reference to this religious building (see below), and it is possible that it was founded in the reign of Den, an event marked by the creation of a new *imiut*-fetish. The hypothesis that the fetish was associated with ritual killings (Logan 1990: 69) is based upon a single piece of evidence and must remain unproven.

The precise grammar of the entry is not clear (as is usual in the annals, prepositions are not written), but the *imiut*-fetish is obviously associated in some way with the *senut(i)*-shrine (whether it was dedicated in the shrine or presented to the shrine). This unidentified religious building seems to have been important for Early Dynastic kings, as it is mentioned no fewer than five times in the surviving portions of the annals (the other four being PS r.V.9, PS v.III.1, PS v.IV.3, and CF4 r.U.2).

The lower part of the compartment is damaged, and the Nile height measurement has not been preserved. However, from the disposition of the last vertical stroke under the *mḥ*-sign, it seems likely that the original entry read *mḥ 4*.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF5 r.L.4

sqr iwti(w)?

mḥ 6 šsp 1 db^cwi

smiting the ‘dog-like (people)’?

6 cubits, 1 palm, two fingers

Den

This entry is modelled closely on that in CF5 r.L.2, and likewise records the ‘smiting’ of an enemy people. However, the reading of the foe is far from clear. The first sign, which must represent the main phonetic component of the word, is the walking greyhound (*iw*, Gardiner sign-list E14). This is distinguished from the walking jackal (*z3b*, Gardiner sign-list E17) by its short, curly tail. The second sign, showing a kneeling captive with his arms tied behind his back, and a spear thrust into his face, most probably serves as a determinative (cf. Gardiner sign-list A14). The third sign appears to be the *iw*-bird, giving a plural ending to the word. Cenival could suggest no reading for the name as a whole, and no specific foreign people is attested elsewhere written with this combination of signs. However, a simple, literal interpretation of the signs may offer the most plausible reading. Egyptian terms for foreigners often give, not the indigenous name of the people, but rather an epithet, usually pejorative, or a description of some characteristic attribute. Hence, nomads of the eastern desert were called *iwni*, ‘bowmen’, and inhabitants of the Sinai *ḥrwi-š^c*, ‘sand-dwellers’. Following this convention, the first sign of the group in question may be read simply as ‘dog’ (*iw*). The *iw*-ending would give the sense ‘dog-like (people)’. In Egyptian metaphor, enemies were often likened to dogs, because of their cringing, servile nature (Janssen and Janssen 1989: 10). In *The Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son*, the king boasts ‘I made the Asiatics do the dog-walk’ (Lichtheim 1975: 137), while ‘conquered enemies parading before the Pharaoh are stated ... to assert “We are indeed your dogs”’ (Janssen and Janssen 1989: 10). A similar comparison

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

between defeated enemies and dogs is found in *The Tale of Sinuhe* (line 63) and the Piankhi Stela (line 3). Thus, ‘dog-like (people)’ would be an eminently apt descriptive label to attach to a defeated enemy of the Egyptian king/state. Their subjugation and servility is emphasised by the determinative of a bound captive with a spear thrust into his face. It is possible that the term **ḏwtḏw*, ‘dog-like (people)’ would have carried an additional, punning meaning: since *ḏwt* means ‘that (which) is not’, *ḏwtḏw* would mean ‘those (who) do not exist’. This would express the wish that the ‘dog-like’ enemies of the king/Egypt/creation be consigned to oblivion. To summarise, it seems unlikely that the group of signs records the name of a foe; rather, that it labels them as ‘dog-like (people)’ and hence serve in the face of the king’s military might. Claggett (1989: 121 n. 36) translated CF 5 r.L.4 as ‘smiting the wolf-people’; but this was based upon a misinterpretation of the well-known ivory label of Den which shows the standard of Wepwawet, the jackal (not ‘wolf’) god, towering over a defeated enemy (Wilkinson 1999: fig. 5.1 (1)).

The preponderance of entries from the reign of Den referring to military activity against foreign enemies is particularly striking (PS r.III.2, CF5 r.L.2 and CF5 r.L.4). This emphasis is also reflected in the surviving year labels from Den’s reign, and may well say something about the contemporary ideology of kingship. An emphasis on the king’s role as subjugator of foreign peoples — and thereby defender of Egypt, and of created order — may be expressed in Den’s secondary name, used frequently in inscriptions from his reign. This name is written with the sign for ‘hill-country, foreign land’, read either as *zmt* or *ḥ3st*. Although the name is usually rendered as *Zmtḏ*, another possible reading would be *Ḥ3stḏ*, with the meaning ‘he of (action against?) foreign land(s)’.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

CF5 r.L.5

h3 smr-ntrw hb-Skr?

mḥ ...

planning? (the building) ‘companion of the gods’; Sokar?-festival
... cubits, ...

Den

This entry is almost identical to PS r.III.6, except that the name of the building is given as *smr-ntrw* rather than *swt-ntrw*. Otherwise, the arrangement of the signs and the nature of the two events (the planning of a building and the celebration of a bark-festival, perhaps the Sokar-festival) are exactly the same. A major problem concerns the identification of the building (*smr-ntrw*) and the activity associated with it. It is first attested in the reign of Djer (both on contemporary inscriptions on stone bowls from the Step Pyramid complex and in the annals of Djer on CF1), and seems to be closely associated with this king. The building *smr-ntrw* may have been connected with Djer’s mortuary cult. To find it mentioned again in the annals of Den is somewhat surprising, especially since Den is known to have founded his own parallel institution, *swt-ntrw* (PS r.III.6–8). The activity associated with *smr-ntrw* in CF5 r.L.5 is also problematic. The word *h3*, when used in the context of a temple or religious building, seems to mean ‘planning’, since it precedes the foundation ceremony of ‘stretching the cord’ (PS r.III.6–7). However, the building *smr-ntrw* could not possibly have been ‘planned’ in the reign of Den, since it already existed in the earlier reign of Djer (Cenival 1965: 16).

There are several possible explanations for this anomaly. First, the name of the building may have been miscopied by the scribe composing the annals, who mistakenly used a name with which he was already familiar from earlier entries. Second, the word *h3* may have had a different/alternative meaning which has thus far escaped scholars of the annals (Cenival 1965: 16). Third, the entry may be

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

accurate and may record — in abbreviated form — the planning of a secondary building within the pre-existing institution called *smr-ntrw*. Fourth, and most controversial, the entry — and the fragment as a whole — may be the product of a modern forger, familiar with the other fragments of the annals but not sufficiently versed in the internal history of the First Dynasty to avoid making a revealing error.

The possibility that CF5 is a fake finds support in the nature of the other entries: the repetition of the same entry in two of the compartments of the upper register (CF5 r.U.2 and r.U.4), and the repetition of a similar entry in two of the compartments of the lower register (CF5 r.L.2 and r.L.4). Such a high incidence of repetition on so small a fragment is certainly suspicious. However, at least two entries on CF5 (r.U.2 and r.L.1) are corroborated by authentic, First Dynasty inscriptions. Moreover, the annals — compiled long after the reigns concerned, by scribes working from original records which may well have been incomplete — are full of repetition and small scribal errors. Repetition of entries, in itself, is not sufficient grounds for rejecting the authenticity of CF5.

CF5 r.L.6

...

...

Den

No signs survive in the small portion of this compartment which is preserved.

Verso

not preserved

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

THE LONDON FRAGMENT (UC 15508)

This is the only one of the smaller fragments to preserve portions of both recto and verso.

Recto

The recto of the fragment shows parts of four year compartments in an upper register, plus the very top of a compartment in the register below. The two registers are separated by a titulary band.

Upper Register (Khasekhemwy?)

The width of the compartments in the Upper Register strongly suggests that this corresponds to r.V of the original annals stone (Barta 1981: 13). Hence, the reign in question must belong to a king of the late Second or Third Dynasty. Petrie (1916: 120) identified the king as Khasekhemwy, while Kaiser (1961) and Barta (1981: 13) argued in favour of Huni, the last king of the Third Dynasty. In view of the comments below, Petrie's identification seems the more plausible.

LF r.U.1

[*zp*] *tpi* ...*nw*...*t* ...*n**bw*

...

first [occasion of] (the census of?) gold

...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Khasekhemwy's (?) third year

Most commentators have read the entry in the first preserved compartment as 'the first occasion of the census'. Such a reading would have profound implications for the placement of the fragment in a reconstructed annals stone: Kaiser and Barta attributed the fragment to the reign of Huni, arguing that the change from a biennial census to one conducted at irregular intervals of one or two years took place towards the end of the Third Dynasty. (The annals for the early Third Dynasty seem to show that it was still carried out every two years at that period.) However, the placement of the individual signs in LF r.U.1 makes the reading *zp tp² tnwt* improbable: compare the arrangement of the signs for *tnwt* in the following compartment (LF r.U.2). Rather, the entry in LF r.U.1 seems to refer to some unidentified ceremony or event. This alternative interpretation would nullify the arguments of Kaiser and Barta for assigning the upper register to the reign of Huni (cf. Spalinger 1994: 276).

Clagett (1989: 79) suggested a hybrid interpretation for LF r.U.1, namely that it records 'the first occurrence of the counting of the gold'. He interprets this event as different from the general census recorded in the following compartment, noting that a combined census of fields and gold is recorded elsewhere in the annals (Clagett 1989: 132 n. 66). Clagett's reasoning has much to recommend it, and offers a plausible reading for this problematic year.

LF r.U.2

[šms-Hr?] *zp* 2 *tnwt*
mh 3 *šsp* 6 *db* ⁶*i*

['following of Horus']; second occasion of the census
3 cubits, 6 palms, two fingers

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Khasekhemwy's (?) fourth year

The upper part of the compartment is not preserved, but it is possible that it originally recorded the *šms-Ḥr*, the 'following of Horus'. Scholars have argued that the apparent absence of the *šms-Ḥr* from the LF r.U argues in favour of a late Third Dynasty date, since the irregularity of this previously biennial event is a feature of Sneferu's reign and may have begun in the preceding reign (Barta 1981: 13). If the lost portion of LF r.U.2 originally recorded the *šms-Ḥr*, this would be another argument against an attribution of the upper register to the late Third Dynasty.

LF r.U.3

... *rh̄t*
mḥ 3 šsp 1

... of the common people
3 cubits, 1 palm

Khasekhemwy's (?) fifth year

The original context of the single preserved word *rh̄t*, 'common people', cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. Stewart (1979: 6) misinterprets the surviving group of signs as a reference to the 'souls of Pe'.

LF r.U.4

... [*zp*] 3 [*tnwt*]
mḥ 1 ...

... third [occasion of the census]
1 cubit, ...

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION & COMMENTARY

Khasekhemwy's (?) sixth year

The entry indicates that the census was still being conducted on a regular, biennial basis. Clagett (1989: 80) gives the Nile height reading as '[2+]1 cubits', but this cannot be supported from careful examination of the original inscription.

Lower Register (Sneferu)

Given that the upper register corresponds to r.V of the annals, there is little doubt that the tiny preserved portion of the lower register belongs to the reign of Sneferu (whose annals occupy PS r.VI).

LF r.L.1

^c*h* ...

...

halting at? ...

...

Verso

Petrie's original publication (1916) gave only the briefest verbal description of the verso. Subsequent detailed examination of the fragment revealed that his reading of some signs was mistaken, and that some sense could, in fact, be made of at least part of the inscription (Reeves 1979: 47). A new drawing and photograph of the verso of the London fragment (Reeves 1979: 50–1) indicated that the entries 'can be closely paralleled on other surviving panels of Vth dynasty date occurring in the Annals' (Reeves 1979: 47).

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KING ON THE VERSO

The traces of inscription on the verso are too fragmentary to permit certain identification of the reign in question. However, from the original position of LF proposed by Giustolisi (1968a, 1968b, 1969) and Helck (1974a), Clagett (1989: 141 n. 117) suggested that ‘the verso of the London fragment contains part of the second year of Neferirkare’s reign’. This is plausible, but not provable.

LF v.-.-

... [*h*]*t m**h*? ... [numerals] 3(*h*)*t s**t*3*t h*3

...

... ... 10[+x] arouras of arable land

...

Fifth Dynasty (Neferirkara?)

The meaning of the signs, traces of which appear at the top of the verso, cannot be established. The numerals in the second line, which are difficult to read with certainty, apparently refer to commodities which would have been listed above. The remaining signs, in the third and fourth lines of the surviving inscription, belong to ‘a frequently occurring horizontal heading, which a series of vertical columns below originally served to enumerate’ (Reeves 1979: 48). From parallels on the verso of PS and CF1 the principal phrase can undoubtedly be read as 3*h**t s**t*3*t*, ‘arouras of arable land’.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Previous studies of the annals, indicating the fragments discussed

	PS	CF1	CF2–4	CF5	LF	reconstruction attempted
Pellegrini 1895	*					
Schäfer 1902	*					
Naville 1903	*					
Sethe 1903	*					*
Meyer 1904	*					*
Breasted 1906a	*					
Maspero 1912	*					
Gauthier 1914, 1915		*	*			
Daressy 1916	*	*	*			
Petrie 1916	*	*	*			*
Read 1916	*	*	*			
Borchardt 1917	*	*	*		*	*
Ricci 1917	*	*				*
Breasted 1931	*	*				
Godron 1952	*	*	*		*	
Helck 1956	*	*	*		*	*
Tcherezov 1960	*					
Kaiser 1961	*	*	*		*	*
Cenival 1965				*		
Giustolisi 1968a,b, 1969	*					*
Helck 1970	*	*	*	*	*	
Helck 1974a	*	*	*	*	*	*
Reeves 1979					*	
Stewart 1979					*	
O'Mara 1979, 1980	*	*	*	*	*	*
Barta 1981	*	*	*	*	*	*
Roccati 1982	*	*	*			
Helck 1982	*	*	*	*	*	
O'Mara 1986a,b, 1987		*	*	*	*	
Clagett 1989	*	*	*	*	*	
Spalinger 1994	*	*	*	*	*	
O'Mara 1996	*					

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

APPENDIX 2

*Reign lengths according to different reconstructions of the annals**

<i>Register and king</i>	<i>Read 1916</i>	<i>Petrie 1916</i>	<i>Ricci 1917</i>	<i>Borchardt 1917</i>	<i>Kaiser 1961</i>	<i>Helck 1974a</i>	<i>Barta 1981</i>
r.II							
Aha			37	63	33	35	34
'ttj'			21			1.I.10	0.I.15
Djer		46	11	49	41	53	52
r.III							
Djet			16	53	12	13	15
Den	49		12	36	47	42	51
Anedjib		56	36	16	8	11	11
Semerkhjet		9	15	9	9	9	10
Qaa			8	26	17	33	28
r.IV							
Hetepsekhemwy			9		20		20
Nebra			20		21		21
H. + N.				82		42	
Ninetjer	38	46	15	49	46	44	47
Sekhemib							7
Peribsen				13 ^a	14		21
Wadjnes			10	23 ^b			
Sened			42	17 ^c	11		
Neferka(ra)			10			33 ^d	2
Neferkaseker			4			8.III	9
Hudjefa			11			1.VIII	5

* The figures give reign lengths in years. Small Roman and arabic numerals indicate months and days, respectively. (For example 0.I.15, the figure given by Barta (1981) for the First Dynasty king ttj, indicates a reign length of zero years, one month and fifteen days.)

^a Borchardt does not name this king, but identifies him merely as the fourth king of r.IV.

^b Identified merely as the fifth king of r.IV.

^c Identified merely as the sixth king of r.IV.

^d This figure refers to the combined reigns of Peribsen, Sened and Neferka.

APPENDICES

<i>Register and king</i>	<i>Read 1916</i>	<i>Petrie 1916</i>	<i>Ricci 1917</i>	<i>Borchardt 1917</i>	<i>Kaiser 1961</i>	<i>Helck 1974a</i>	<i>Barta 1981</i>
r.V							
Khasekhemwy		17	27		28		28
Sanakht		27	17	19 ^e	17		19
Netjerikhet			19	31 ^f	21		21
Sekhemkhet			6	9 ^g	8 ^h		8
Khaba			6		8 ⁱ		7
Huni			24		10		24
r.VI							
Sneferu	44		24		31		
v.I-IV							
Shepseskaf			3				
Userkaf			9				
Sahura			14				
Neferirkara			11				

^e Borchardt identifies the king in this position (whose reign begins in PS r.V.8) as Khasekhemwy, and suggests that two other reigns preceded him in r.V. He assigns a total of 58 years to these first two kings of r.V.

^f Identified merely as the fourth king of r.V.

^g Identified merely as the fifth king of r.V.

^h Not identified by name.

ⁱ Not identified by name.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

APPENDIX 3

Key to the location of the annals of specific kings

<i>dynasty</i>	<i>king</i>	<i>location</i> <i>fragment/register</i>		<i>comments</i>
Predynastic kings		PS CF1	r.I r.I	
First Dynasty	Aha	CF5	r.U	later years
		PS	r.II	end of reign
	Djer	PS	r.II	years 1–10
		CF1	r.II	middle years
	Den	CF5	r.L	middle years
		PS	r.III	later years
	Anedjib	CF1	r.III	penultimate and last years
Second Dynasty	Semerkhet	CF1	r.III	entire reign (years 1–9)
	Qaa	CF1	r.III	years 1–2
	Ninetjer	PS	r.IV	years 6–21
		CF1	r.IV	later years and end of reign
	Peribsen?	CF1	r.IV	years 1–6 (illegible)
Third Dynasty	Netjerikhet	LF	r.U	years 3–6
		PS	r.V	years 12–18
Third Dynasty	Netjerikhet	PS	r.V	years 1–5
		CF1	r.V	years 19–28
	Sekhemkhet?	CF1	r.V	years 1–3 (illegible)

APPENDICES

<i>dynasty</i>	<i>king</i>	<i>location</i> <i>fragment/register</i>		<i>comments</i>
Fourth Dynasty	Sneferu	CF4	r.U	years 4–5
		LF	r.L	earlier years
		PS	r.VI	years 12–16
		CF1	r.VI	later years (illegible)
		CF4	r.M	later years
	Khufu	PS	r.VII	earlier years (trace)
		CF2	r.U	earlier years
		CF1	r.VII	earlier years (illegible)
		CF3	r.U	
		CF4	r.L	later years
		CF2	r.L	later years (illegible)
	Djedefra	CF3	r.L	earlier years
	Menkaura	CF1	v.I	later years (illegible)
		PS	v.I	last year
	Shepseskaf	PS	v.I	year 1
Fifth Dynasty	Userkaf	CF1	v.II	years 3–4
		PS	v.II	years 5–7
	Sahura	CF1	v.III	years 2–3
		PS	v.III	years 5–6
		PS	v.IV	last year (year 13?)
	Neferirkara	PS	v.IV	year 1
		PS	v.V	years 10–11

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i>
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IFAO</i>	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> Vol. I: eds W. Helck and E. Otto; Vols II–VII: eds W. Helck and W. Westendorf
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

Altenmüller, H. (1976) 'Das Ölmagazin im Grab der Hesire in Saqqara (QS 2045)', *SAK* 4: 1–26.

— (1977) 'Feste', *LÄ* II: 171–91.

Anthes, R. (1957) 'Die Sonnenboote in den Pyramidentexten', *ZÄS* 82: 77–89.

Arnold, D. (1982a) 'Per-nu', *LÄ* IV: 932–3.

— (1982b) 'Per-wer II', *LÄ* IV: 934–5.

Baines, J. and Málek, J. (1980) *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford: Phaidon.

Barta, W. (1969) 'Zur Bedeutung des *snwt*-Festes', *ZÄS* 95: 73–80.

— (1980) 'Königskrönung', *LÄ* III: 531–3.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

- (1981) 'Die Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie nach den Angaben des rekonstruierten Annalensteins', *ZÄS* 108: 11–23.
- Bayer, W. (1925) 'Die Religion der ältesten ägyptischen Inschriften', *Anthropos* 20: 1093–1121.
- Beckerath, J. von (1975) 'Cheops', *LÄ* I: 932–3.
- Behrens, P. (1982) 'Nomaden (und Bauern)', *LÄ* IV: 522–4.
- Beinlich, H. (1984) 'Seelen', *LÄ* V: 804–6.
- Bell, B. (1970) 'The oldest records of the Nile floods', *Geographical Journal* 136: 569–73.
- Blackman, A.M. (1998) *Gods, priests and men: studies in the religion of pharaonic Egypt*, edited by A.B. Lloyd, London and New York: Kegan Paul International. Studies in Egyptology.
- Bleeker, C.J. (1967) *Egyptian festivals. Enactments of religious renewal*, Leiden: E.J. Brill. Studies in the history of religions XIII.
- (1973) *Hathor and Thoth. Two key figures of the ancient Egyptian religion*, Leiden: E.J. Brill. Studies in the history of religions XXVI.
- Borchardt, L. (1917) *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte*, Berlin: von Behrend. Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte 1.
- Breasted, J.H. (1906a) 'The Palermo Stone', in J.H. Breasted, *Ancient records of Egypt. Vol. I. The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties*, 51–72. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1906b) *Ancient records of Egypt. Vol. II. The Eighteenth Dynasty*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1931) 'The Predynastic union of Egypt', *BIFAO* 30: 709–24.
- Brovarski, E.J. (1984) 'Sed', *LÄ* V: 779–80.
- Bruijning, F.F. (1922) 'The tree of the Herakleopolite nome', *Ancient Egypt* 1922: 1–8.
- Brunner, H. (1982) 'Neunheit', *LÄ* IV: 473–9.
- Cenival, J.L. de (1965) 'Un nouveau fragment de la pierre de Palerme', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 44: 13–17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Clagett, M. (1989) 'The early Egyptian annals on stone, generally called the Palermo Stone', in M. Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian science. A source book. Volume 1: knowledge and order*, tome 1: 47–141. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. Memoirs 184.
- Daressy, G. (1916) 'La pierre de Palerme et la chronologie de l'Ancien Empire', *BIFAO* 12: 161–214.
- Dreyer, G. (1990) 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 3./4. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 46: 53–90.
- Dreyer, G., Hartung, U., Hikade, T., Köhler, E.C., Müller, V. and Pumpenmeier, F. (1998) 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9./10. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 54: 77–167.
- Edgerton, W.F. (1937) 'Critical note on the chronology of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose III)', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53: 188–97.
- Eisenlohr, A. (1885) 'Aus einem Briefe des Professor Aug. Eisenlohr an Dr. Ludw. Stern', *ZÄS* 23: 51–8.
- Emery, W.B. (1938) *Excavations at Saqqara. The tomb of Hemaka*, Cairo: Government Press.
- Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds) (1926) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- (1928) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, II. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- (1929) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, III. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- (1930) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, IV. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- (1931) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, V. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Faulkner, R.O. (1991) *A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Fischer, H.G. and Caminos, R.A. (1976) *Ancient Egyptian epigraphy and palaeography*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Friedman, F.D. (1995) 'The underground relief panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid complex', *JARCE* 32: 1–42.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

- Gaballa, G.A. and Kitchen, K.A. (1969) 'The Archaic Period', in G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, 'The festival of Sokar', *Orientalia* 38: 13–19.
- Gardiner, A.H. (1945) 'Regnal years and civil calendar', *JEA* 31: 11–28.
- (1957) *Egyptian grammar*, third revised edition. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- (1961) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford: Claredon Press.
- Gardiner, A.H. and Peet, T.E. (1952) *The inscriptions of Sinai*, I, 2nd edition revised and augmented by J. Černý, London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Gauthier, H. (1914) 'Quatre fragments nouveaux de la pierre de Palerme au Musée du Caire', *CRAIBL* 1914: 489–96.
- (1915) 'Quatre nouveaux fragments de la pierre de Palerme', in G. Maspero, *Le Musée Egyptien. Recueil de Monuments et de Notices sur les Fouilles d'Egypte*, vol. 3, 29–53 and pls XXIV–XXXI. Cairo: IFAO.
- (1925) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, I. Cairo: IFAO.
- (1926) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, III. Cairo: IFAO.
- (1927) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, IV. Cairo: IFAO.
- (1928) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, V. Cairo: IFAO.
- (1929) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, VI. Cairo: IFAO.
- Germer, R. (1986) 'Sykomore', *LÄ* VI: 113–14.
- Giustolisi, V. (1968a) 'La 'Pietra di Palermo' e la cronologia dell' Antico Regno', *Sicilia Archeologica* 1,4: 5–14.
- (1968b) 'La 'Pietra di Palermo' e la cronologia dell' Antico Regno', *Sicilia Archeologica* 1,5: 38–55.
- (1969) 'La 'Pietra di Palermo' e la cronologia dell' Antico Regno', *Sicilia Archeologica* 2,6: 21–38.
- Giveon, R. (1975) 'Asiaten', *LÄ* I: 462–71.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Godron, G. (1952) 'Quel est le lieu de provenance de la 'Pierre de Palerme'?', *Chronique d'Egypte* 27: 17–22.
- (1990) *Etudes sur l'Horus Den et quelques problèmes de l'Egypte archaïque*, Geneva: Patrick Cramer. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 19.
- Gohary, J. (1992) *Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International. Studies in Egyptology.
- Gomaa, F. (1977) 'Herakleopolis Magna', *LÄ* II: 1124–7.
- Grdseloff, B. (1944) 'Notes d'épigraphie archaïque', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* 44: 279–306.
- Griffiths, J.G. (1959) 'Some remarks on the ennead of gods', *Orientalia* 28: 34–56.
- Hawass, Z. (1994) 'A fragmentary monument of Djoser from Saqqara', *JEA* 80: 45–56.
- Helck, W. (1953) 'Gab es einen König Menes?', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 103 (N.S. 28): 354–9.
- (1956) *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 18.
- (1966) 'Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest', *ZÄS* 93: 74–9.
- (1970) 'Zwei Einzelprobleme der thinitische Chronologie', *MDAIK* 26: 83–5.
- (1974a) 'Bemerkungen zum Annalenstein', *MDAIK* 30: 31–5.
- (1974b) *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B Nr. 5.
- (1979) 'Die Datierung der Gefäßaufschriften der Djoserpyramide', *ZÄS* 106: 120–32.
- (1980) 'Iat', *LÄ* III: 114.
- (1982) 'Palermostein', *LÄ* IV: 652–4.
- Hertz, A. (1914) 'Einige Bemerkungen über den Thronwechsel im alten Reich wie er auf dem Stein von Palermo dargestellt ist', *RecTrav* 36: 101–3.
- Hoenes, S. (1980) 'Ihi', *LÄ* III: 125–6.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

- Hornung, E. and Staehelin, E. (1974) *Studien zum Sedfest*, Basel/Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel/Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 1.
- Jacquet-Gordon, H.K. (1962) *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Cairo: IFAO.
- James, T.G.H. (1974) *Corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From Dynasty I to the end of Dynasty XVIII*, Brooklyn, NY: The Brooklyn Museum.
- Janssen, J.J. (ed.) (1973a) *Annual Egyptological bibliography 1968*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- (1973b) *Annual Egyptological bibliography 1969*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Janssen, J.M.A. (ed.) (1962) *Annual Egyptological bibliography 1960*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Janssen, R. and Janssen, J. (1989) *Egyptian household animals*, Princes Risborough: Shire.
- Jéquier, G. (1906a) 'De l'intervalle entre deux règnes sous l'ancien empire', *BIFAO* 5: 59–62.
- (1906b) 'Les nilomètres sous l'ancien empire', *BIFAO* 5: 63–4.
- Jones, D. (1988) *A glossary of ancient Egyptian nautical titles and terms*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International. Studies in Egyptology.
- Kaiser, W. (1960) 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit. I (Forts.)', *ZÄS* 85: 118–37.
- (1961) 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit, II. Zur Frage einer über Menes hinausreichenden ägyptischen Geschichtsüberlieferung', *ZÄS* 86: 39–61.
- (1985) 'Ein Kultbezirk des Königs Den in Sakkara', *MDAIK* 39: 61–87.
- Kaplony, P. (1963) *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- (1964) *Die Inschriften der ägyptische Frühzeit, Supplement*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kees, H. (1922) 'Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern', *ZÄS* 57: 120–36.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1927) ‘Zum Ursprung der sogenannte Horusdiener’, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, aus dem Jahre 1927*, 196–207.
- Krauss, R. (1996) ‘The length of Sneferu’s reign and how long it took to build the ‘Red Pyramid’’, *JEA* 82: 43–50.
- Kuhlmann, K.P. (1996) ‘Serif-style architecture and the design of the Archaic Egyptian palace (“Königszelt”)', in M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten/House and palace in ancient Egypt*, 117–37. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Band XIV.
- Lacau, P. and Lauer, J.-P. (1959) *La pyramide à degrés IV. Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, Cairo: IFAO.
- (1965) *La pyramide à degrés V. Inscriptions à l'encre sur les vases*, Cairo: IFAO.
- Lehner, M. (1997) *The complete pyramids*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Lichtheim, M. (1975) *Ancient Egyptian literature. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley (CA), Los Angeles (CA) and London: University of California Press.
- Lieblein, J. (1873) *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne d'après les listes généalogiques*, Christiania (Oslo): A.W. Brögger.
- Logan, T.J. (1990) ‘The origins of the *Jmy-wt* fetish’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 61–9.
- Lucas, A., revised and edited by Harris, J.R. (1962) *Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, fourth edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Macramallah, R. (1940) *Un cimetière archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqarah*, Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Malek, J. (1986) *In the shadow of the pyramids. Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

- Marfoe, L. (1987) 'Cedar forest to silver mountain: social change and the development of long-distance trade in early Near Eastern societies', in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen and K. Kristiansen (eds) *Centre and periphery in the ancient world*, 25–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. New directions in archaeology.
- Maspero, G. (1912) 'Une inscription égyptienne du Musée de Palerme', in G. Maspero, *Etudes de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Egyptiennes*, vol. 6, 419–24. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- (1914) 'Le protocole royal des Thinites sur la Pierre de Palerme', *RecTrav* 36: 152.
- Meyer, C. (1984) 'Sahure', *LÄ* V: 352–3.
- Meyer, E. (1904) *Ägyptische Chronologie*, Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Naville, E. (1898) *The temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part III. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- (1899) 'Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens', *RecTrav* 21: 105–23.
- Naville, E. (1903) 'La pierre de Palerme', *RecTrav* 25: 64–81.
- Newberry, P.E. and Wainwright, G.A. (1914) 'King Udy-Mu (Den) and the Palermo Stone', *Ancient Egypt* 1914: 148–55.
- O'Connor, D. (1995) 'The earliest royal boat graves', *Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 3–7.
- O'Mara, P.F. (1979) *The Palermo Stone and the Archaic kings of Egypt*, La Canada: Paulette. Studies in the structural archaeology of ancient Egypt 1.
- (1980) *The chronology of the Palermo and Turin Canons*, La Canada: Paulette. Studies in the structural archaeology of ancient Egypt 2.
- (1986a) 'Is the Cairo stone a fake? An example of proof by default', *DE* 4: 33–40.
- (1986b) 'Historiographies (ancient and modern) of the Archaic period. Part I. Should we re-examine the foundations? A revisionist approach', *DE* 6: 33–45.
- (1987) 'Historiographies (ancient and modern) of the Archaic period. Part II. Resolving the Palermo Stone as a rational structure', *DE* 7: 37–49.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1996) 'Was there an Old Kingdom historiography? Is it datable?', *Orientalia* 65: 197–208.
- Ogdon, J.R. (1982) 'Studies in Archaic epigraphy, II. On the nature of , *GM* 57: 41–8.
- Parkinson, R. (1998) *Invisible cities: landscape and urban life in Egyptian literature*. Lecture given to the Friends of the Oriental Museum, University of Durham, 25 March 1998. Unpublished manuscript shown to the author.
- Peet, T.E. (1920) 'Notice of recent publication', *JEA* 6: 149–54.
- Pellegrini, A. (1895) 'Nota sopra un'iscrizione egizia del Museo di Palermo', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 20: 297–316.
- Pérez Die, M. del C. (1995) 'Discoveries at Heracleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el-Medina)', *Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 23–5.
- Petrie, W.M.F. (1900) *Royal tombs of the First Dynasty, I*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund. Eighteenth Memoir.
- (1901) *Royal tombs of the earliest dynasties, II*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund. Twenty-first Memoir.
- (1916) 'New portions of the annals', *Ancient Egypt* 1916: 114–20.
- Posener-Kriéger, P. and Cenival, J.L. de (1968) *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum. 5th Series. The Abu Sir papyri*, London: British Museum Press.
- Quibell, J.E. (1900) *Hierakonpolis, Part I*, London: Quaritch.
- Read, F.W. (1914–15) 'Egyptian royal accessions during the Old Kingdom', *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 36: 282–8; continued in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 37: 34–41.
- (1916) 'Nouvelles remarques sur la pierre de Palerme', *BIFAO* 12: 215–22.
- Reeves, C.N. (1979) 'A fragment of Fifth Dynasty annals at University College London', *GM* 32: 47–51.
- Ricci, S. de (1917) 'La Table de Palerme', *CRAIBL* 1917: 107–15.
- Robins, G. (1997) *The art of ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum Press.
- Roccati, A. (1982) *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Paris: Cerf.

ROYAL ANNALS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

- Rossi, F. (1878) *Illustrazione di una stela funeraria dell' XI dinastia del Museo di Torino*, Turin.
- Rougé, E. de (1866) *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, Paris: Imprimerie impériale. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tome 25.
- Saad, Z.Y. (1957) *Ceiling stelae in Second Dynasty tombs from the excavations at Helwan*, Cairo: IFAO. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cahier 21.
- (1969) *The excavations at Helwan: art and civilization in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties*, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sandman Holmberg, M. (1946) *The god Ptah*, Lund: Håkan Ohlsson.
- Schäfer, H. (1902) *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, Berlin: Verlag der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.
- Seidlmayer, S.J. (1996) 'Town and state in the early Old Kingdom. A view from Elephantine', in J. Spencer (ed.), *Aspects of early Egypt*, 108–127, pls 22–3. London: British Museum Press.
- Sethe, K.H. (1903) *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 3.
- (1914) 'Hitherto unnoticed evidence regarding copper works of art of the oldest period of Egyptian history', *JEA* 1: 233–6.
- (1917) 'Zwei bisher übersehene Nachrichten über Kunstwerke aus Kupfer aus den ältesten Zeiten der ägyptischen Geschichte', *ZÄS* 53: 50–4.
- (1962) *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, Hamburg: J.J. Augustin.
- Shaw, I. and Nicholson, P. (1995) *The British Museum dictionary of ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum Press.
- Spalinger, A. (1994) 'Dated texts of the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 21: 275–319.
- Spence, K.E. (1997) *Orientation in ancient Egyptian royal architecture*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Spencer, A.J. (1993) *Early Egypt. The rise of civilisation in the Nile valley*, London: British Museum Press.
- Spiegelberg, W. (1897) 'Ein neues Denkmal aus der Frühzeit der ägyptischen Kunst', *ZÄS* 35: 7--11.
- Stadelmann, R. (1986) 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Reiches. Die Länge der Regierung des Snofru', *MDAIK* 43: 229–40.
- Stewart, H.M. (1979) *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie Collection, Part Two: Archaic period to Second Intermediate Period*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Swelim, N. (1974) 'Horus Sneferka. An essay on the fall of the First Dynasty', *Archaeological and Historical Studies* 5: 67–77.
- Tcherezov, E.V. (1960) 'Drevnejsaja letopis "Palermiskij kamen" i dokumenty drevnego zarstva Egipta' (Les annales de la pierre de Palerme et les documents de l'Ancien Empire), *Drevni Egipet* 1960: 261–72.
- Vercoutter, J. (1992) *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, I. Des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Nouvelle Clio: l'histoire et ses problèmes.
- Ward, W.A. (1991) 'Early contacts between Egypt, Canaan, and Sinai: remarks on the paper by Amnon Ben-Tor', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 281: 11–26.
- Weigall, A. (1925) *A history of the Pharaohs. Volume I: The first eleven dynasties*, London: Thornton Butterworth.
- Wiedemann, A. (1885) 'Beiträge zur ägyptischen Geschichte', *ZÄS* 23: 77–84.
- Wildung, D. (1984) 'Schlangensteine', *LÄ V*: 655–6.
- Wilkinson, T.A.H. (1999) *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London: Routledge.
- Winter, E. (1970) 'Miszelle. Nochmals zum *snwt*-Fest', *ZÄS* 96: 151–2.

INDICES

GENERAL INDEX

Note

Entries in inverted commas indicate translations of ancient Egyptian terms.

Entries in italics indicate latinised renderings of ancient Egyptian terms.

For entries not listed in the general index, please refer to the thematic index, arranged under the following headings: buildings, ceremonies and festivals, deities, place names, rulers, scholars.

For Egyptian words and expressions, please refer to the index of Egyptian terms.

Page numbers give only the first and/or main entries where individual terms/rulers/scholars are discussed. Cross-references to other instances will generally be found in the text.

aroura 155–6

barks: evening 180; *maaty*- 179; morning 180

boats: ‘100-cubit’ 143–4; ‘adoring the two lands’ 141, 143; ‘sixteener’ royal 141

‘bowmen’ 106

‘bull of the mountain’ 157

calendar years 89

cartouche 186

cedar 141, 143–4

census 120–1, 129–31, 133, 145–6, 158

copper 133–4, 168, 170

creation of cult images 91

date-palms 233

electrum 168, 170

ennead 166–7, 173–4

INDEX

fir 142
'god's scribe' 228–9
Golden Horus title 186
granite 228–30
'greatest of seers' (High Priest of Ra at Heliopolis) 172, 174–5
'High is Khasekhemwy' (statue) 130, 133
hippopotamus 104, 112–14
imiut-fetish 242–3
interregnum 92–4, 173
inventory 152, 165, 220–1
Khenut-hap (queen) 187
lapis lazuli 233, 237
malachite 168, 170
myrrh 168, 170
Nile height measurement 95
Ni-maat-hap (queen) 105
nome 110
pine 141, 144–5
Predynastic kings 85–9, 183–6
regnal years 19, 93
royal seal-bearer 228–9
royal statues 133–4, 220, 234
sacred lake 112–13
sacrifice 97–8
ship building 134–5, 141–4
'small cattle' 142, 236
souls of Heliopolis 153–4, 173–4
sycomore fig 173, 176
syncretism 179
'the son of life'/'the living son' 122–3
turquoise 168–9

INDEX

‘two royal children’ 96–7

‘white bull’ 161

THEMATIC INDEX

Buildings

‘companion of the gods’ 98–9, 246

Djebaut shrine 156–8

‘field of Ra’ (sun temple) 160, 162

‘fountain of Shepseskaf’ (funerary monument) 149, 151

‘fountain of the gods’ 139

‘god’s palace of Upper Egypt’ 154, 157

‘high (places) of the gods (?)’ 114

‘House-of-Horus-and-Seth’ 152, 165

Mastabat el-Fara‘un 151

‘mouth of Horus’ 121–2

‘occasion of Ra’ (sun temple) 153, 156

per-nezer 160–1

per-nu 154, 157

per-wer 160–1

pyramid: of Djedefra 230; of Khufu 229; of Menkaura 230; of Sahura 164;
of Userkaf 218

‘Ra’s favourite place’ (sun temple) 179

‘Sahura is risen as a ba’ (pyramid) 161, 164

senut(i)-shrine 136–8

‘Sneferu high of the red crown’ 144

‘Sneferu high of the white crown’ 144

sun temple: of Neferirkara 179; of Sahura 162; of Userkaf 156

‘the goddess endures’ 132

‘the mansions of Sneferu’ 141–2

INDEX

- 'thrones of the gods' 111–12, 114–15
- 'throne of Horus the harpooner' 198
- 'Userkaf is pure(st) of places' (pyramid) 217–18

Ceremonies and festivals

- 'adoring Horus of the sky'-festival 125
- appearance: of the dual king 101; of the king as *bꜥt* 101; of the king as *nswt* 100
- 'circumambulating the Two Lands' 188
- 'circumambulating the wall' 94–5
- coronation ceremonies 94–5
- desher*-festival 96
- diadem-festival 149–50
- djet*-festival 102
- festival of Sopdu 199
- 'following of Horus' 90–1, 113, 120, 225–6, 250
- 'following of Horus upon the bank' 196
- New-year festival 218–19
- 'opening of the mouth' 173, 175, 224–5
- 'reaching the wall' 134
- reunification of the Two Lands 94
- 'running of the Apis bull' 117–18
- sed*-festival 107–8
- Sokar-festival 98–9, 124
- 'sixth'-festival 153, 155
- 'stretching the cord' 201–2

Deities

- Anubis 90–1, 101
- Apis bull 117–18

INDEX

Bastet 228, 230–1
Ha 190–1
Hathor 153, 157, 160, 164, 168–9, 173, 175–6, 218
Hedj-wer 241
Herishef (Harsaphes) 115–16
Horus 154, 157, 179
Horus of Edfu 176
Iat 100
Ihy 173, 175–6
Khnum 224–5
Mafdet 104, 118–19
Min 100–1
Mnevis 165
Neith 191
Nekhbet 128, 154, 157–8, 160–1
Osiris 162
Ptah 105, 163–4, 179–80
Ra 153, 157, 160, 162, 168–9, 173, 179, 218
Sed 117, 189
Sem 161–2
Seshat 111–13, 118
Seth 204–5
Sokar 99
Sopdu 199
Thoth 188–9
Wadjet 102, 154, 158, 160–1, 179
Wepwawet 117, 149–50

Place names

Abu Ghurab 179

INDEX

Abu Rawash 230
Abu Umuri 141
Abusir 164
Babylon (Old Cairo) 155, 166, 174
Bubastis 230–1
Buhen 142
Busiris 162
Buto 156–8; *see also* Dep, Pe
Byblos 135, 141–2
Coptos 101
Dahshur 146
Deir el-Bahri 170, 175
Delta 143, 156, 198–201
Dendera 175
Dep 161
Dua-djefa 134–5
Elephantine 150
Elkab 132
Eritrea 170
Gebelein 132
Giza 229
Ha 125
Hatnub 177, 229
Heliopolis 160, 162
Helwan/el-Maasara 142, 199
Herakleopolis 115
Hierakonpolis 157, 161
Libya 235–6
Maidum 146
Memphis 94, 117–18, 122
Nen-nisut 115

INDEX

nome, 5th of Lower Egypt (Saïte Nome) 157
nome, 6th of Lower Egypt (Xoïte Nome) 153, 157
nome, 9th of Lower Egypt 162
nome, 10th of Lower Egypt ('Great Black') 162
nome, 14th of Lower Egypt ('Foremost of the East') 165
Nubia 141–2
Pe 153, 156–7
Per-Hapi (Nilopolis) 174
Punt 168–70
Sah?-nisut 116
Setjet 190
Shem-ra 125
Sinai 106, 169
Syria-Palestine 190
Wer-ka 116
Western Harpoon Nome 165

Rulers

Aha 90–1, 238–40
Anedjib 194
Athothis I 93, 186
Den 105–19, 240–7
Djedefra 228–31
Djer 92–103, 186–93
Djet (Wadj) 73, 107, 236
Huni 54, 58, 150, 177–8
Khaiu 86
Khasekhemwy 131–6, 248–51
Khufu 215–16, 222–6, 236–7
Mekhet 88

INDEX

Menes 72, 186
Menkaura 149
Meret-neith 103–5
Narmer 47, 72, 187
Nebka 74, 77, 130
Neferirkara 172–80, 252
Netjerikhet 136–9, 210–13
Niheb 87
Ninetjer 119–29, 204–6
Niuserra 179
Nubnefer 203
Pepi I 231
Peribsen 74, 182, 203
Qaa 201–2
Sahura 159–71, 220–1
Seka 86
Sekhemkhet 213–14
Semerkhet 194–201
Sened 59, 73–4, 203
Shepseskaf 149–51
Sneferka 114
Sneferu 140–6, 232–6, 251
Tiu 87
Tjesh 87
Userkaf 152–9, 217–19
Wadj-adj 87
Weneg 73–4, 135, 203

Scholars

Barta, W. 42, 57–60

INDEX

Borchardt, L. 35, 48–9
Breasted, J.H. 32–3, 36
Cenival, J.L. de 38
Clagett, M. 43–4
Daressy, G. 34, 46
Eisenlohr, A. 30
Gauthier, H. 33
Giustolisi, V. 39
Godron, G. 36–7
Guimet, E. 30
Helck, W. 37, 39, 43, 50–1, 55–6
Kaiser, W. 38, 51–4
Lieblein, J. 30
Maspero, G. 33
Meyer, E. 32
Naville, E. 31
O'Mara, P.F. 40–2, 43, 44–5, 56–7
Pellegrini, A. 30
Petrie, W.M.F. 34, 46–8
Read, F.W. 35
Reeves, C.N. 40
Ricci, S. de 36, 49–50
Roccati, A. 42–3
Rossi, F. 30
Rougé, E. de 30
Schäfer, H. 30–1
Sethe, K. 31–2
Spalinger, A. 44
Stewart, H.M. 40
Tcherezov, E.V. 37–8
Wiedemann, A. 30

INDEX

INDEX OF EGYPTIAN TERMS

3ḥt st3t 155

ỉ3wt 163–4

ỉ3bt 110

ỉ3t (j3mwt) 100

ỉw 244

ỉwntỉw 106, 244

ỉwtỉw 245

ỉbs 137

ỉmỉ-wt 243

ỉmnt mḥtỉ 110

ỉn 134

ỉnb(w)-ḥd 94, 164

ỉrỉ-nbtỉ 194

ỉḥỉ 175

ỉḥw-wr 162

ỉt3 236

ỉ3 113

ỉwt 142

ỉntỉw 170

ỉnd.tỉ 162

ỉḥ 105, 192

ỉš 142–3

w3d-šsmt 170

W3dt rsỉt 180

wpt 198

wpt-r(3) 175, 225

INDEX

wr-m3(w) 174

B3-ṛṛt-s (B3-tl-r-st) (Tf-tl-r-st) (Srt-Ḥr) 195

b3w ṛlwnw 154

b3t 195

bn(r)t 233

bs 137

Pwnt 169

pr-wr 161

pr-nw 157

pr-nswt 165

pr-Ḥr-Stḥ 165

pḥrr 126

pḥr ḥ3 ṛnb 188

psdt 154, 166

pḏ-šs 192

m3^c 128

m3^ctl 179

m3(t) Ḥr-Stḥ 165

m3t 229

m^cndt 180

mfk3t 169

mnw 154

mr(ṛ)-Ḥwfw 223

mr(w) 141

Mrt-Nt 104

mḥ 95

ms 162

msktt 180

INDEX

mst 91, 175

mst ²*Inpw* 239, 240

*mdt*² 142

nb *h3swt* 191

*nbt*² 195

nbt nht 176

nbt hwt-^cnh 118

Nn(w)-nswt 115

nn rn-nbw 119

nht 176

*nswt-bt*² 107

*nswt-H(w)*² 178

R^c tp hwt 176

rnpt zp 121

*rh*²*t* 110, 250

*rs*² *inb.f* 180

r-š 164

h3 109–10, 112, 192, 246

H3 125, 191

hwt-p-Hr-msn 198

hwt-mh 125

hwt-nbw 229–30

hwt-Nfr-ir-k3-R^c 174

hwt-k3-Pth 105

hb-dt 102

hmt 191

Hr 167

*Hr*²-*š.f* 115

INDEX

hsb 159

hsq 98

Hk3 106

Hd-wr 241

h3 162–3

h(3)b 114

H3sw 157

h3st 245

H3stl 245

h^c(t)-b^ltl 101

h^c(t)-nswt 100–1

h^c(t)-nswt-b^ltl 101, 107

hwz 224

hmntlw 142

hnt l3wt.f 163–4

hnt l3bt 174

hntlw-š 150–1, 164

Hnt-Hp 187

hsbd 233

htmw-b^ltl 229

hd 116

Hr(i)-^ch3 174

Hrlw-š^c 244

S3w 106

s3tl-b^ltl 97

s^lstlw-dpt-nswt 141

s^ch 116

swt-ntrw 114–15

INDEX

sm 162

smr-nṯrw 99

snwt 155

snwt(ṯ) 137–8

sšd 150

st-ṯb-R^c 178

stt 114

st3t 155

stt 142–3

Stt 190, 242

sd 224

z3-^cnḥ 122–3

z3b 244

zmt 245

Zmtṯ 245

zš-nṯr 229

š 110

š3(?) 95

Šm-r^c 125

šms-Ḥr 90–1

šsp 95

šd dšr(t) 135

q(3ṯw)-nṯrw 114

k3p 98

Km-wr 162

gmt 165

INDEX

ghs 116

T3-T_hnw 236

u₃w 244

tp-r(3) 144

tnwt 64, 67

tnwt nbw sh_t 133

dw3-t3w₃ 141

Dw3-d_f(3) 135

d₃^cm 170

d₃b₃t 156

d₃b₃^c 95

d₃t 102

Figure 1

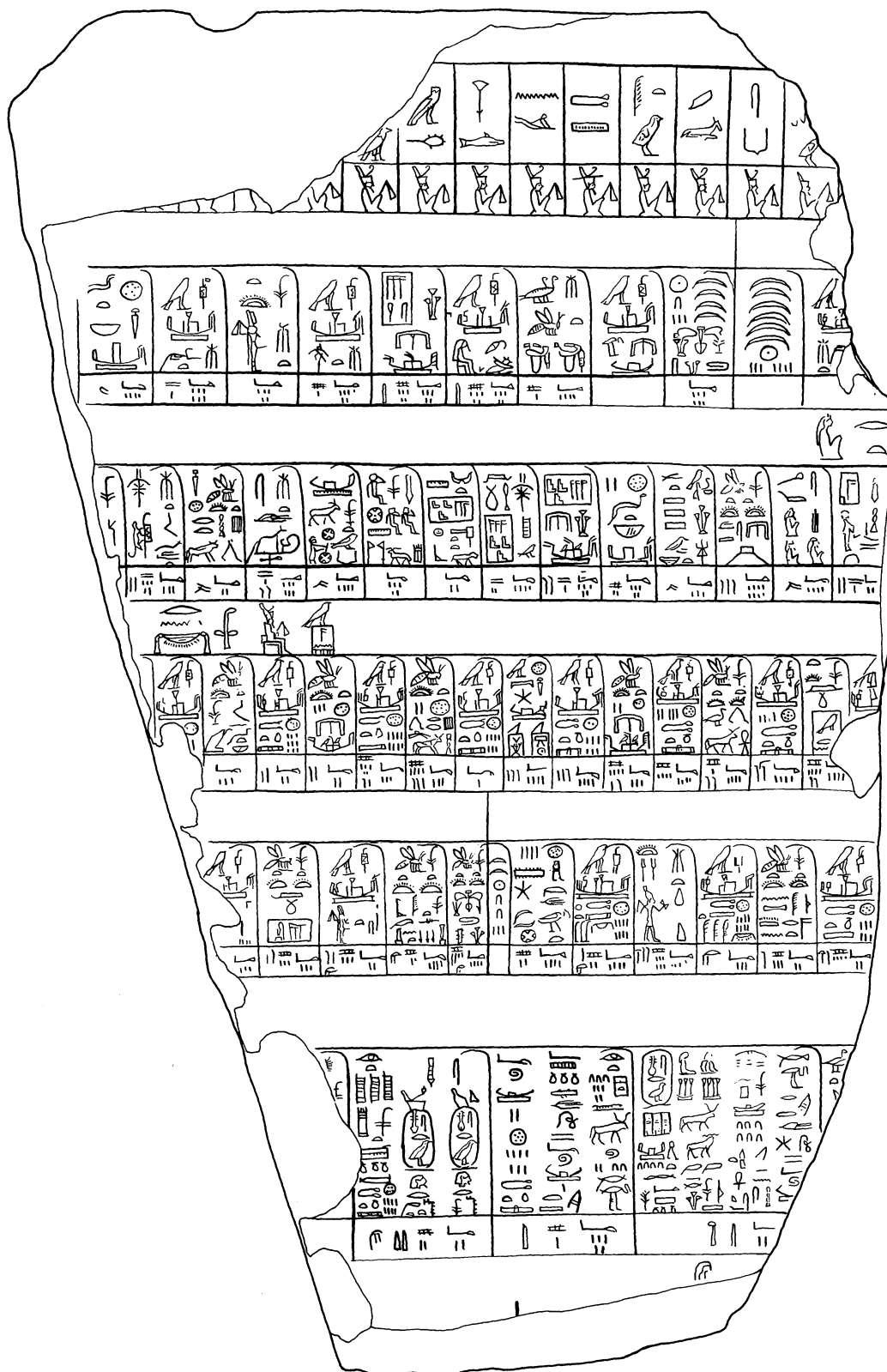


Figure 2

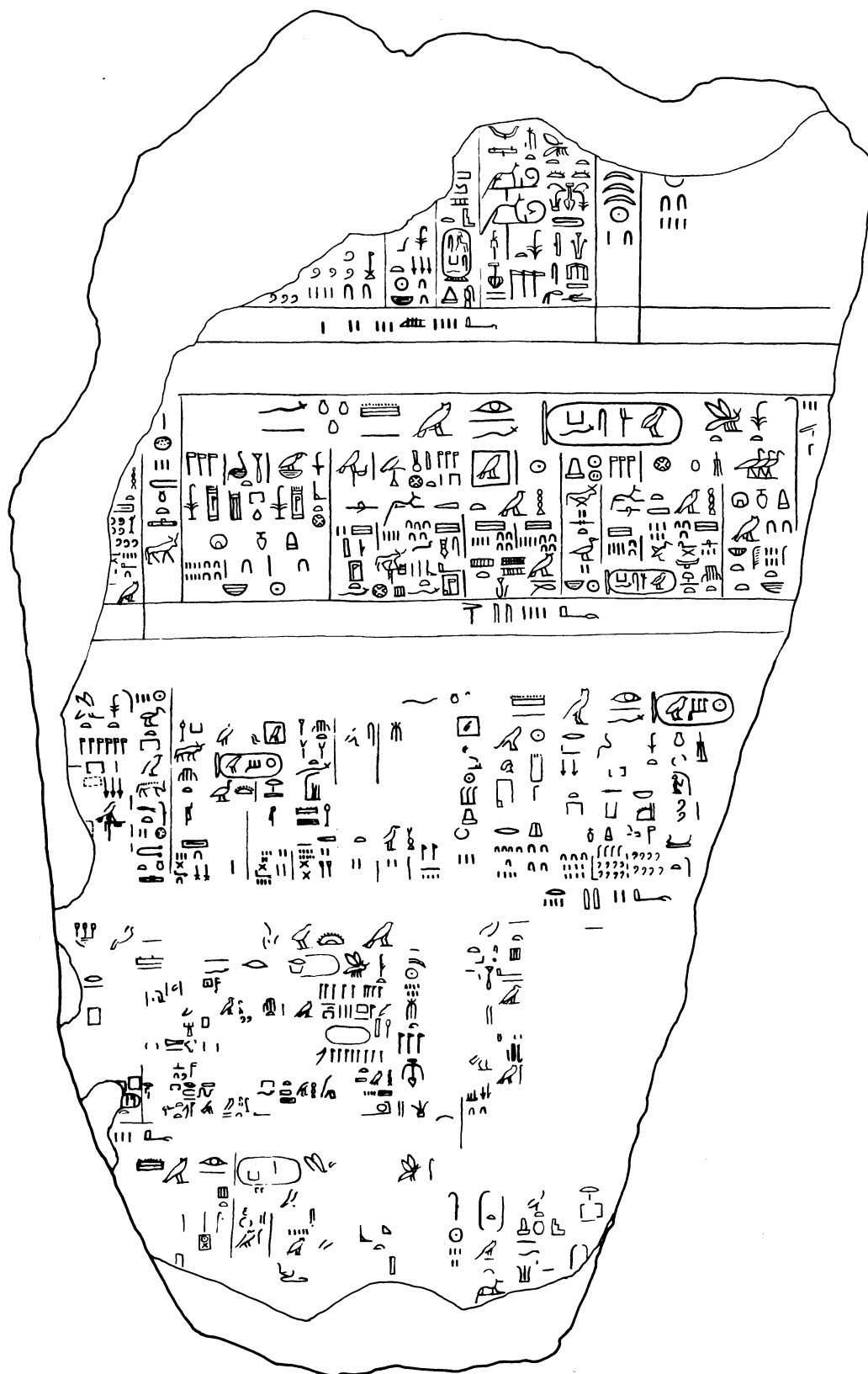


Figure 3

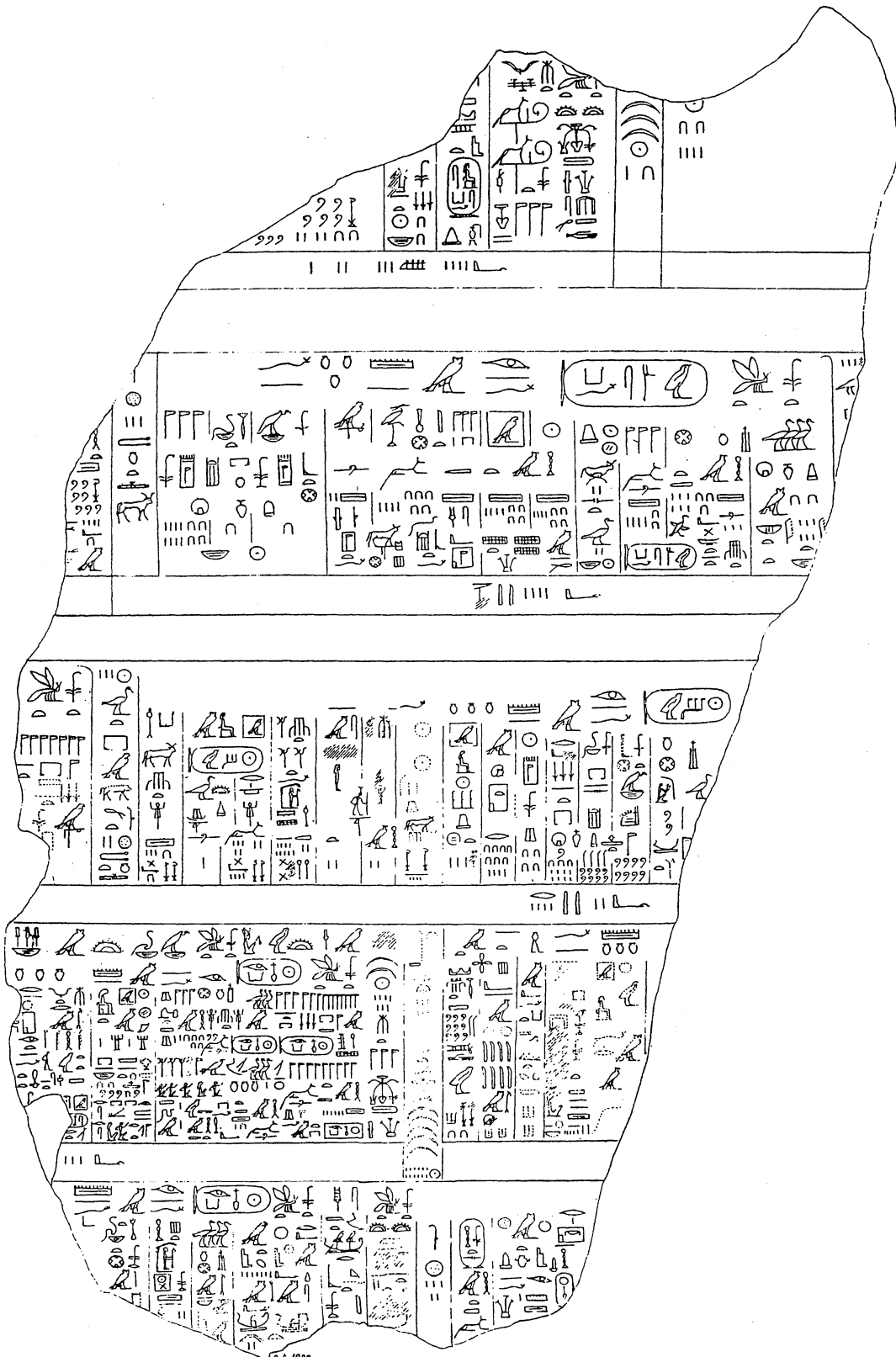


Figure 4

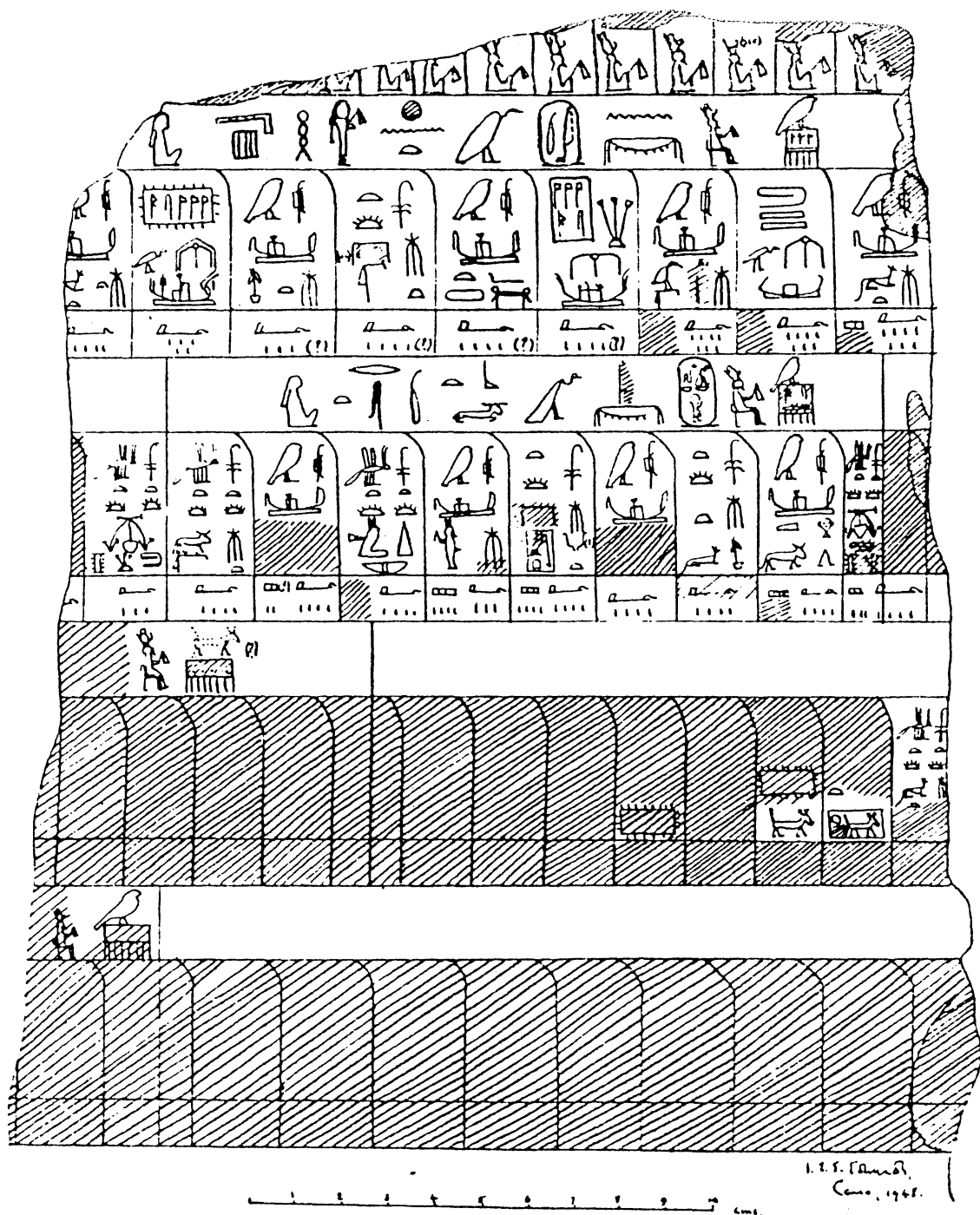


Figure 5

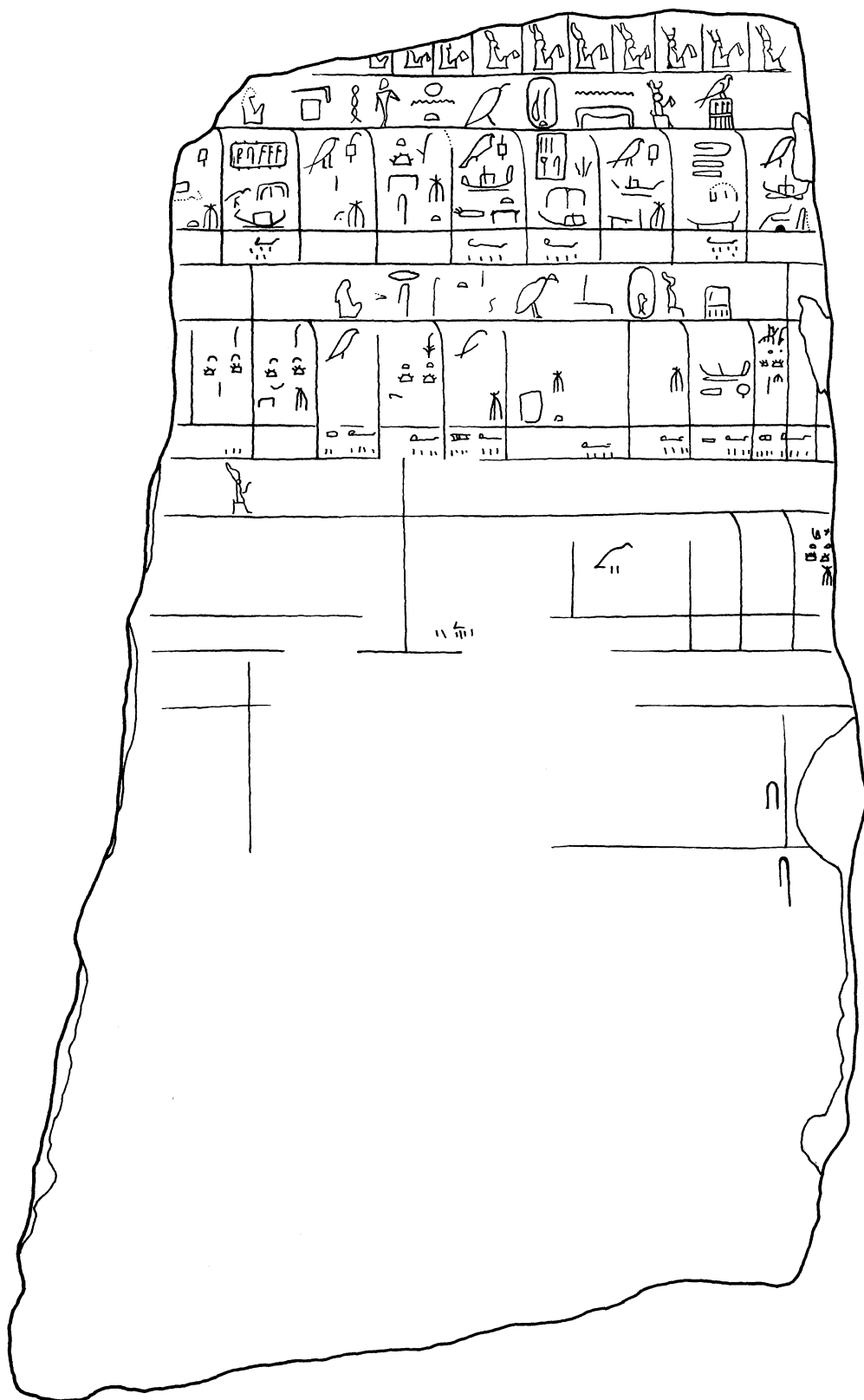


Figure 6

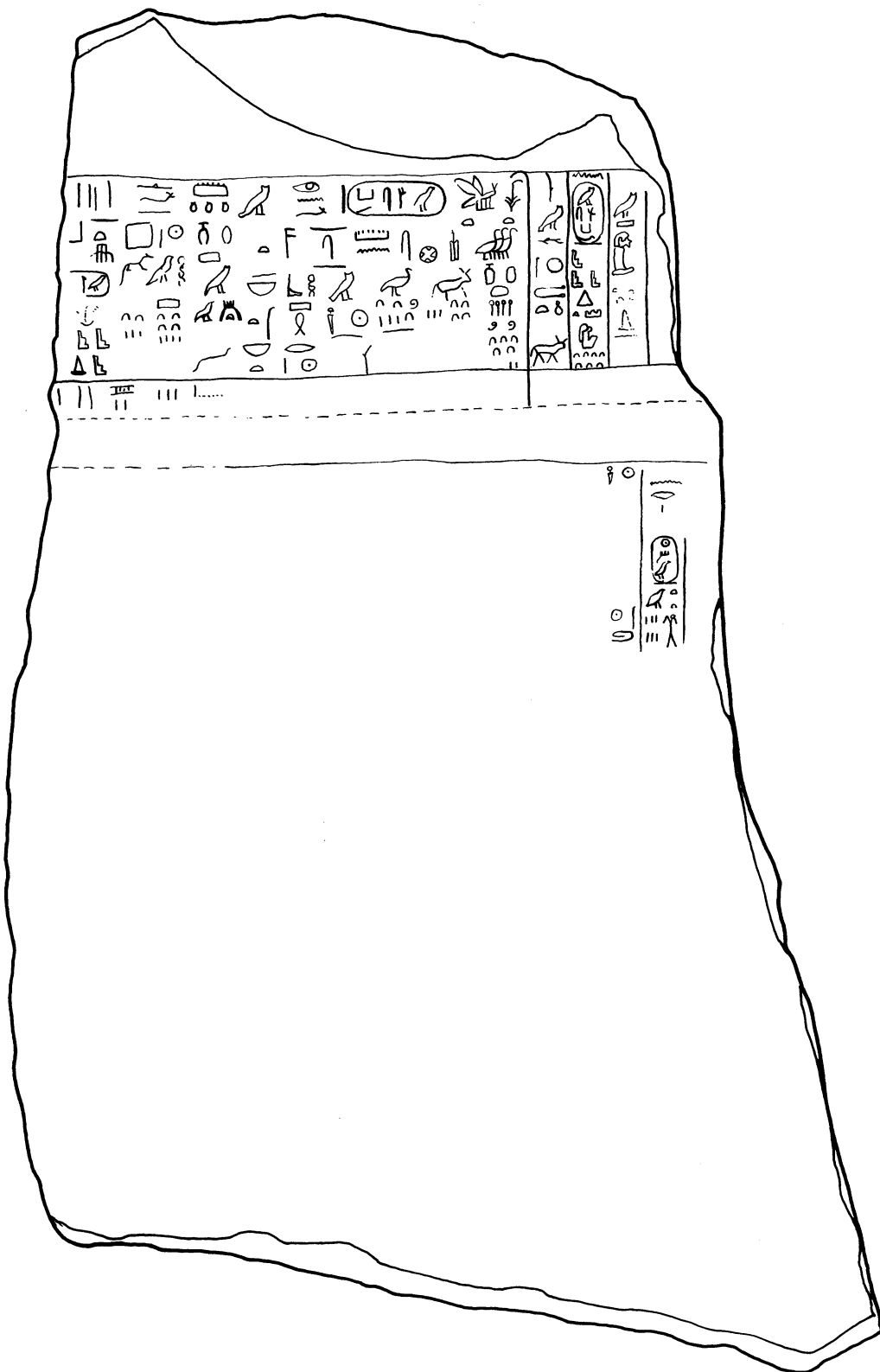


Figure 7

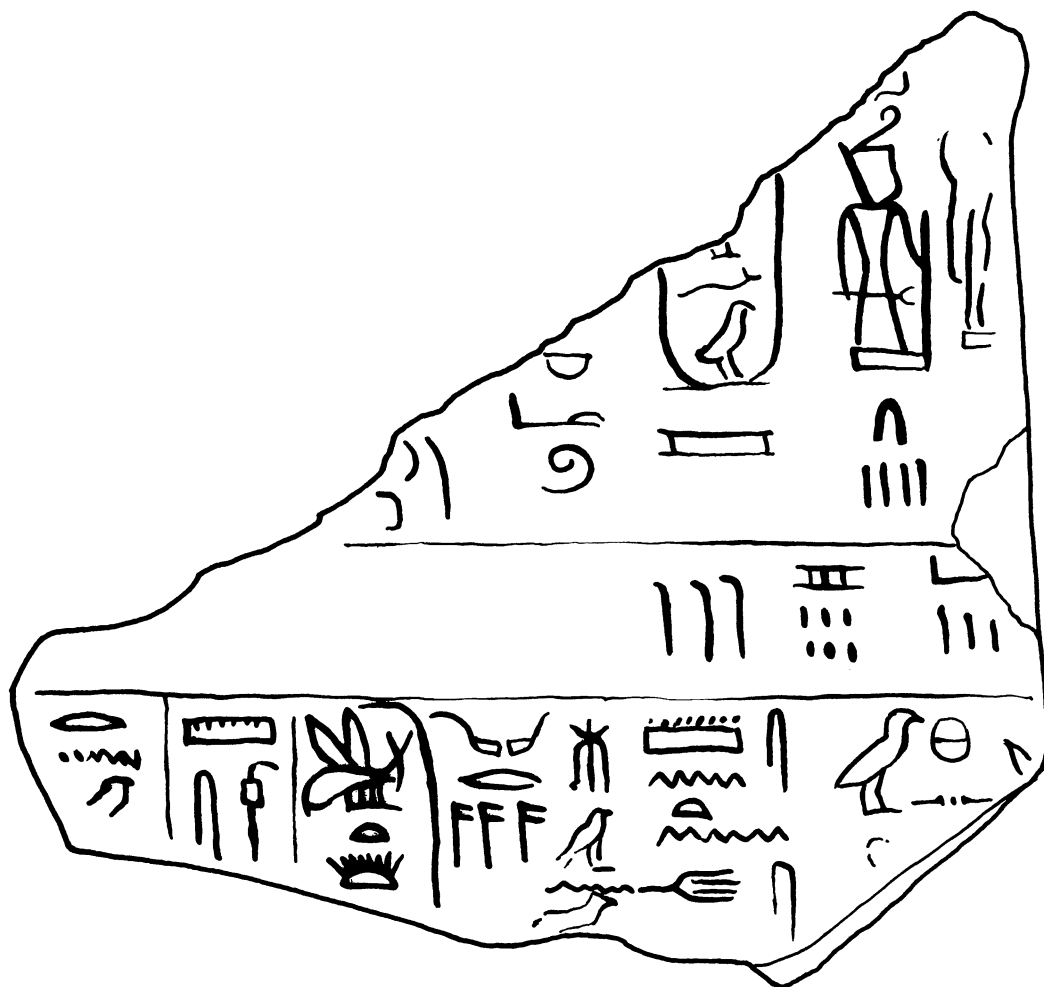


Figure 8



Figure 10

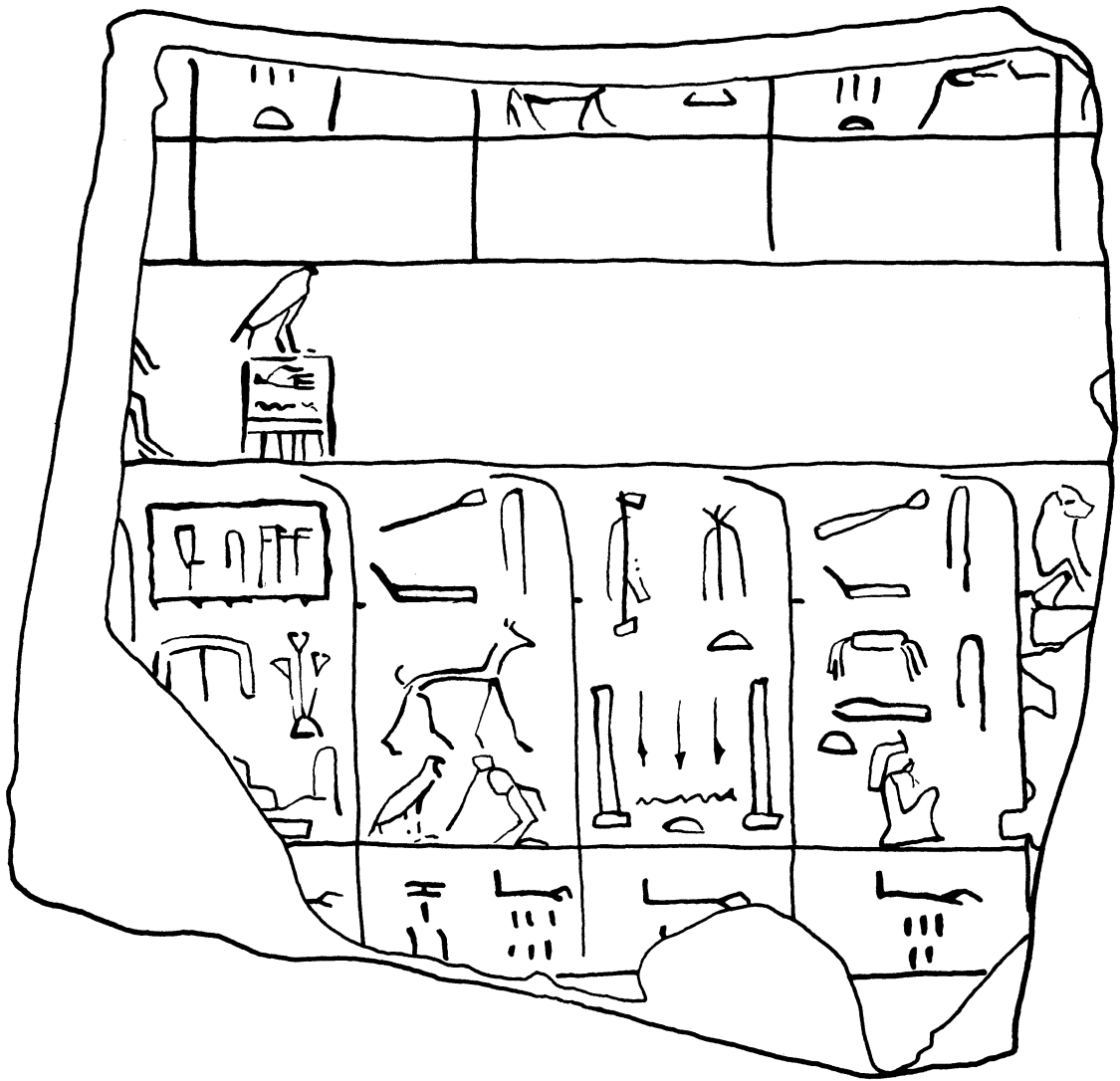


Figure 11

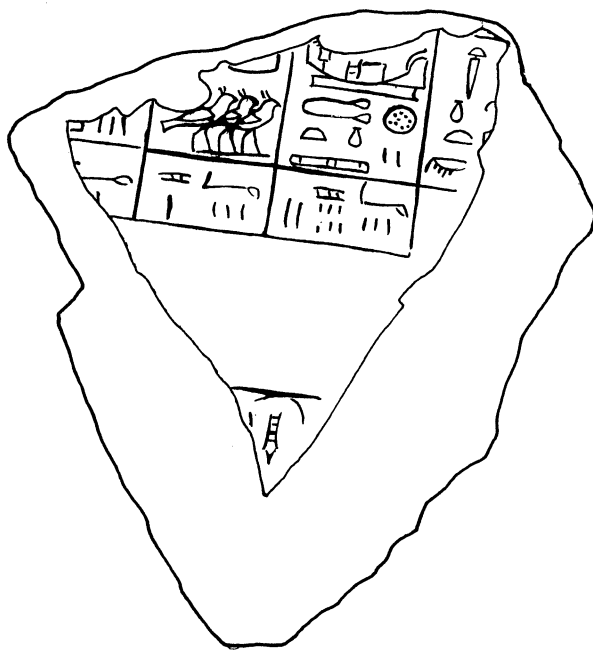


Figure 12

